HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Plans Already Under Way

Federal 'Data Bank' Could Destroy Priva

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

If the Johnson Administration has its way, a central "data bank" run by the federal government will pool every scrap of information known about every American. Through the use of computers, these dossiers will be instantly available to any bureaucrat who pushes the right buttons.

What this means, in effect, is that the day when a man's business was his own, when he was entitled to the privacy of his personal life, will be over. For every detail of an individual's activities—as garnered from income tax returns, personnel forms, investigative agencies, armed forces records, or you name it—will be fed into the huge computers for the use of the government.

This, of course, is what the totalitarian governments have practiced for decades. Lacking the wizardry of the computer, they nevertheless were able to compile dossiers on every individual, his acts as well as his thoughts and hopes. And these dossiers were used repeatedly to keep the people in line. Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union made the dossier an integral part of their systems for keeping opposition down and holding a nation in the grip of a repressive bureaucracy.

Plans for this centralized Federal Data Center have been prepared by a committee of "social scientists" headed by Prof. Carl Kaysen of Princeton's Institute for Advanced Studies, a think factory developed by Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer. Behind this committee was its sponsoring body, the Bureau of the Budget, which works directly out of the White House.

The report of the Kaysen Committee indicates that the data bank is already being organized, without the sanction of Congress or any broad debate by the American people. In fact, the report speaks of a "sufficient beginning" in creating the bank to give it a "running start." How much has been done remains secret, as so much does in these days of runaway big government.

Nothing would be known of this totalitarian computerization of every man's private life except for the determined efforts of one congressman to make the facts known. He is Chairman Cornelius E. Gallagher of the House Special Subcommittee on the Invasion of Privacy, part of the House Government Operations Committee. Mr. Gallagher has carried the ball against further government encroachments. His work has not been popular with the Johnson Administration, which feels that this New Jersey Democrat is creating trouble and giving opponents valuable ammunition.

Rep. Cornelius Gallagher (D.-N.J.) has been a leader in the fight against "Big Brother" snooping. He is chairman of the House Special Subcommittee on the Invasion of Privacy.

The Federal Communications Commission has already warned that any centralized and governmental data center might "erode fundamental values" and lend itself to "unauthorized invasion or disclosure" of confidential information.

The Kaysen Committee and the sponsoring Budget Bureau, however, imply that "the federal government should get on with building a data bank and worry about such matters as possible invasions of privacy later," to quote Rep. Gallagher. He is aware that even the present private and decentralized data banks, lacking the power to probe of the federal government, are already making inroads on the rights of individuals.

Computers like this one may well be used by the government to compile data on every citizen. As columnist de Toledano notes, public opinion should be aroused by the implications of a central data processing center.

For example, the credit bureaus, now operating as a means of protecting the business community from deadbeats in a credit card society, have gotten out of hand. These credit bureaus compile information without checking its accuracy and then distribute it to anyone who inquires about an individual's rating or trustworthiness.

This derogatory information has done considerable damage to people who, unaware of its dissemination, have no opportunity to defend themselves.

They suddenly see their credit drying up, but have no recourse to due process of law to clear their names. It is all done quietly, secretly, and with deadly effect. Try to find out what your standing is with the local credit bureau and you will understand the peril the average citizen would be in if a Federal Data Center took over the business of preparing dossiers on the entire country.

Mr. Gallagher believes that the federal government has no right to become a computerized snooper. Through his special subcommittee, he will fight to the bitter end to prevent this destruction of the constitutional right to privacy. But without an aroused public opinion he will be defeated by those who so crave "efficiency" that they are willing to sacrifice the American system to get it.

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CHRISTMAS-GRAM

TO: ALL HUMAN EVENTS READERS

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The Real Story Behind Manchester's Book on Kennedy

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Nuclear Test Ban Coming to End?

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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CAPITAL BRIEFS

• The conservative youth group, Young Americans for Freedom, is preparing an all-out drive in support of California's Gov.-elect, **Ronald Reagan,** for President in 1968. Reagan has not solicited YAF's backing, but has reportedly been notified that an effort will be made on his behalf.

• **Arthur Flemming,** newly elected president of the National Council of Churches, has called for the United States to take "calculated risks" to end the war in Viet Nam. Flemming was chosen NCC prexy by a unanimous vote at the group's Miami Beach convention. Elected vice presidents were Arthur Larson, the original "modern Republican," and William B. Arthur, editor of Look magazine.

• Peace Corps official **Harris Wofford,** spearheading the movement to compel every American citizen to serve his government in military or social work, admitted at a Washington conference recently that many of his ideas distressingly resembled those of Adolf Hitler's.

• Another member of the Kennedy family is mapping plans for a political career. Like Bobby and Teddy, brother-in-law **R. Sargent Shriver** expects to start at the top. The controversial director of the Office of Economic Opportunity announced last week that he was "very interested" in running for governor of Illinois in 1968. Despite his Kennedy connections, the path may not be completely clear for him. Both longtime party leader Jake Arvey and Chicago Mayor Richard Daley have declared their support of incumbent Gov. Otto Kerner. Shriver, however, does not seem impressed by this opposition and his resignation from OEO is expected shortly.

• Want to make Sen. **Len B. Jordan,** Idaho conservative, angry? Just refer to him by his initials.

• Columnist Charles Bartlett has disclosed that fellow pundit **Drew Pearson** is a central figure in a campaign booklet now being investigated by the Justice Department. Pearson was the featured speaker at a fund-raising affair for Rep. Joseph Resnick (D.-N.Y.) 10 days before the election. The columnist's full-page picture adorns a program in which advertising space was peddled to Resnick supporters, including a number of corporations. "The solicitation of funds from corporations for political campaigns is a violation of the Corrupt Practices Act and Justice officials are investigating to decide if Resnick should be prosecuted," Bartlett reports.

• G. P. Putnam's Sons will come out next year with a book blistering Pentagon policies under Secretary **Robert S. McNamara.** Written by Pulitzer-Prize-winning journalist Clark Mollenhoff, the book will detail the corruption, muzzling and news censorship that have occurred since McNamara's arrival on the Pentagon scene.

• Many readers have asked what they can do to prevent the United States from carrying through an order by immigration officials to have Yugoslavian defector **Mexhdudin Korca** deported to Titoland, where he faces a possible 12 years in prison for his political views. **Human Events** suggests any individual wishing to aid Korca write these high-ranking House Judiciary Committee members: Emanuel Celler (D.-N.Y.), chairman; Michael Feighan (D.-Ohio) and William McCulloch (R.-Ohio). Also, write your congressman and senators. Sen. Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.) and several House members are reportedly planning to introduce legislation on Korca's behalf as soon as Congress convenes in January.

• *Threatened with jail and expulsion from* Congress unless he began to comply with court decisions rendered against him, Harlem playboy **Adam Clayton Powell** said last week that he would finally begin to pay off the $164,000 Mrs. Esther James won from Powell in a slander suit. The hitch in Powell's "generosity": He agreed to pay her only $60 a week. At this rate, it would take 52 years before Powell had fully paid up. He would then be 111 years old; Mrs. James, 121.

• Another hike in **postal rates** is expected. High-level discussions within the Post Office center around an increase to six cents for first-class mail and to nine cents for airmail, plus major hikes in second and third-class rates. The Post Office is expected to chalk up a $1.2-billion deficit in the current fiscal year.

• Reps. **Albert Quie** (R.-Minn.) and **Charles Goodell** (R.-N.Y.) have fired off angry telegrams to anti-poverty boss R. Sargent Shriver protesting an "unwarranted attack" on them published by the Office of Economic Opportunity. The November issue of the OEO southeast region newsletter picked up the completely inaccurate allegation of columnist Drew Pearson that Quie and Goodell had hired ghost writers to produce lies about the "War on Poverty." *Even Rep. Sam Gibbons (D.-Fla.),* OEO floor manager, refuted the charge.

• The **State Department,** which loosened travel restrictions to Communist countries earlier this year, is considering removing all restrictions to both Communist China and Albania.

• Big Labor is apparently worried about the new drive by the **National Right-to-Work Committee** to get more states to adopt laws forbidding compulsory unionism. The AFL-CIO News' December 3 issue devotes its lead story to the right-to-work "threat," noting that battles are shaping up over the issue in Idaho, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Montana, Delaware, California, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Massachusetts and Missouri.

• The State Department has announced the creation of an advisory **panel on China** composed of eight university professors and two retired diplomats. Among the members: Harvard Prof. John K. Fairbank, long a seeker of accommodation with Communist China, and Robert A. Scalapino, who has in the past called for Red China's admission to the United Nations. Conspicuously absent from the advisory panel were such advocates of a hard-line policy as Dr. Walter Judd, Yale Prof. David Rowe, and Prof. Richard Walker of the University of South Carolina.

• Navy recruiting officers, whose presence on the **Berkeley campus** in California touched off "student" boycotts and demonstrations, avow the disturbances there were actually good for business. Lt. Cmdr. Robert L. May said 150 applications for pilot training—well above the usual number—were received during the three-day recruitment drive.

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Romney, Barry and Racism

That recently released Romney letter to Goldwater in which the Michigan governor strongly suggested the Arizonan ran a racist campaign and that the 1964 GOP platform was rigged to suit Southern rednecks and Ku Klux Klanners continues to cause a stir in GOP circles.

In his Dec. 21, 1964, letter, Romney asserted that he couldn't support Goldwater because he had failed at the Aug. 12, 1964, Hershey, Pa., "unity" meeting to make the "strong clarifying statements" on racism and extremism that Romney had asked of the Arizonan. Romney, furthermore, protested that there was "inadequate opportunity for discussion" on these subjects.

A transcript of the Hershey conference, however, obtained by the Washington *Post*, casts considerable doubt on Romney's veracity.

The transcript, in fact, reveals that Romney had lengthy talks with Goldwater on these topics and that Goldwater made long, detailed responses to Romney's criticism.

Subsequent to Hershey, moreover, Romney issued a written statement that Goldwater did much "to clarify his public positions on . . . extremism and civil rights."

The Hershey conference text shows that Goldwater went the last mile with Romney in condemning extremism and racism. The GOP presidential nominee read a statement, later released to the press, vowing "faithful execution" and "full implementation" of the 1964 Civil Rights Act which he had opposed as a senator.

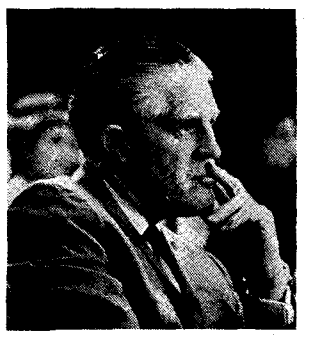
"Further," Goldwater told the conferees, "I say to you as I have also said in every corner of the land throughout this campaign, that I will use the great moral influence of the presidency to promote prompt and peaceful observance of civil rights laws." He also promised not to "shirk any federal responsibility to prevent any American from suppressing the rights of any other American."

As pointed out in these pages last week, at Hershey, Goldwater also publicly repudiated "character assassins, vigilantes, Communists and such groups as the Ku Klux Klan. . . ."

Romney admitted that Goldwater had an "enviable personal record" on civil rights, but told Goldwater he should speak out more firmly on the issue.

As if he had never listened to Goldwater's speeches, he asked the Arizonan to "indicate to the people of this country that you think other individuals and local and state officials ought to pursue their responsibilities in the civil rights field in the way that you have at these levels. . . ."

Goldwater replied: "George, I don't know how I can say it any stronger or any oftener than I have said it. I have been talking on the subject for 12 solid years across this nation, and in every speech I made in the South, East and West, I have talked about local responsibility. . . ."



Gov. Romney (left) still claims he is unclear about Goldwater's stand on civil rights.

At still another point, Goldwater told Romney: "I have never gone to the South . . . that I haven't explained my position as being totally against segregation. . . ."

Former President Eisenhower and Richard Nixon strongly supported Goldwater's statements. Gov. John H. Reed of Maine, a liberal Republican, broke in to tell Goldwater at one point: "You have relieved the reservations that I had and you have my unqualified support."

Even more startling, in view of Romney's December 21 letter, is the fact that when the Michigan governor returned to Lansing he said in a written statement: "The conference at Hershey was helpful. Sen. Goldwater did much to clarify his public position on foreign affairs, extremism and civil rights. He welcomed diversity of Republican viewpoints. He emphasized his intentions in that his campaign will avoid racism and extremism support."

Still later, on Oct. 16, 1964, Goldwater used language similar to that recommended by Romney in a Chicago speech, the major civil rights speech of the campaign.

Nevertheless, two months later, Romney said he could not support Goldwater in 1964 because he had never clarified himself at Hershey and because his campaign never "effectively deviated from the Southern-rural-white-orientation."

• The Romney letter has not only angered Goldwater supporters, but such powerful Republican leaders in the House as Rep. Melvin Laird (Wis.). Laird, who was platform chairman, has not taken kindly to Romney's accusations that the platform was somehow rigged to the racists. Here's actually what the GOP platform said about civil rights:

"Full implementation and faithful execution of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and all other civil rights statutes, to assure equal rights and opportunities guaranteed by the Constitution to every citizen:

"Improvement of civil rights statutes to changing needs of our times;

"Such additional administrative or legislative actions as may be required to end the denial, for whatever unlawful reason, of the right to vote."

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

New Group Hounds 'Extremists'

A new anti-right-wing group has been established at 1330 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., in the Nation's Capital. Called the Institute for American Democracy and headed by Dr. Frank H. Littell, president of Iowa Wesleyan College, the group plans to launch a full-time program to "expose" the right wing in America.

Dr. Littell insists that one of IAD's main functions will be to "serve as a clearinghouse for the local groups and organizations entering the arena" against extemism at the community level. He said that some Americans "tend to live in a world reflected in the . . . radical right radio broadcasts. . . . newsletters and magazines, hired speakers and professional organizers." As one method for checking the growth and influence of right-wingers, the IAD aims to "sic" the Federal Communications Commission on stations which permit "right-wingers" to air their views.

Among the organizations that IAD lists as "extremist" is the highly respected Americans for Constitutional Action which rates congressmen as "liberal" or "conservative," according to their voting records, and does field work for conservative congressional candidates every two years.

Among the officers of the supposedly "extremist" ACA are its chairman, Adm. Ben. Moreell, who organized the famed SeaBees of World War II. A receiver of the distinguished service medal, he is also the past chairman of the board and president of Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation. ACA's president is Maj. Gen. Thomas Lane, who has had a distinguished career in the military and has been writing a syndicated column on military affairs for newspapers around the country.

Though the IAD claims to be against all extremists, whether left or right, the group does not single out in its literature any left-wing group—aside from the Communist party—for attack. Among the sponsors of this tax-exempt organization: Sens. Clifford Case (R.-N.J.), Gale McGee (D.-Wyo.), United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther; John Cogley, religious editor of the New York *Times*; and Arthur Larson, who headed a previous group of this sort that ran out of money when the Democratic National Committee stopped funding it.

GOP Liberals Suffer Setback

Not widely reported in the nation's press is the story of how the liberal faction of the Republican party received a decisive setback last week in its bid to capture the crucial post of chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee.

For several weeks now Sen. Hugh Scott (R.-Pa.), the darling of the GOP liberals, has been gunning for this job by placing calls to liberal friends and mailing his press clippings to senators, staff members and working newsmen. Sample items Scott has been circulating assail the Republican "right wing" and single out for praise Michigan Gov. George Romney.

MURPHY

The liberals have been desperately anxious to capture the Senate Campaign Committee chairmanship with its built-in prestige and influence. This prize political plum guarantees its occupant audiences all over the country and a seat in the key strategy sessions held by party leaders. More important, the chairman has final authority over the hundreds of thousands of dollars dispensed to GOP senatorial candidates. In Barry Goldwater's hands, it even became a valuable vehicle for a build-up to a presidential nomination.

But last week Scott's hopes were suddenly scuttled. The big blow came when Sen. John Tower (R.-Tex.), a possible contender for the position, threw his weight behind Sen. George Murphy (R.-Calif.), elected to the Senate only two years ago by defeating JFK's press secretary, Pierre Salinger.

Positively convinced that talk about Murphy's "ill health" is poppycock, Tower issued this forceful statement on behalf of the California senator:

"I'm flattered that several political writers have mentioned me as a potential chairman for the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee. Nevertheless, my candidate for the job is Sen. George Murphy. In the interest of effectiveness and unity, I hope all my colleagues will join me in this stand."

Influential GOP senators are already joining Tower in lining up behind Murphy. Sen. Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.), Republican majority leader, is said to favor the Californian and Sen. Thruston Morton (Ky.), the current chairman who will resign next year since he comes up for election in 1968, is reported to be in Murphy's corner. Morton, say authoritative sources, believes Scott would be a "divisive" influence.

There is a strong belief by Senate Republicans that most of the freshman senators—even such "moderates" as Percy and Hatfield—will refuse to back Scott now that the leadership is coalescing around the Golden State's junior senator.

Republican regulars are said to be more than a bit happy at Scott's sagging fortunes. Scott, they say, has been an abrasive figure in the party. He refused to back Goldwater in 1964 and has gone out of his way to knife the conservative Young Republicans. Though describing himself in the "mainstream" of Republicanism, he has voted with his party less than 50 per cent of the time in the last three years.

Scott screamed for the scalp of GOP National

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Chairman Dean Burch in 1964 when the Republicans lost 38 House seats and 2 seats in the Senate. But when Scott was chairman in 1948, the Republicans, according to the non-partisan *Congressional Quarterly,* lost 75 House seats and 9 Senate seats. Scott, moreover, refused to resign immediately.

The congenial and conservative-minded Murphy, on the other hand, is a team player and popular with most Republicans. He has proved himself an able speaker and debater and commands wide respect among his colleagues in spite of his freshman status. Hence, the growing support for the Californian over Sen. Scott.

Scranton Backs Romney

Pennsylvania Gov. William W. Scranton, who tried to torpedo Barry Goldwater's chances of getting the Republican presidential nomination, has become a key figure in the Romney - for - President campaign.

SCRANTON

Interviewed by the press, Scranton said he was going to the GOP governors conference last week in Colorado Springs with the express purpose of getting "as many Republican governors as possible to say 'We're for George—at least until he proves to us he can't do the job.' "

Scranton insists Romney has never asked for his support. But the Pennsylvania governor says "as much behind-the-scenes cementation by the governors as possible is needed if we're going to prevent what happened in 1964."

Scranton explained that in his view "unless the moderate Republican governors stick together and get their organizations going for Romney, the built-in support for Dick Nixon will dominate the convention."

Scranton said Nixon's support was in the South, among congressional Republicans and among "politicians who owe him a debt for his past campaign help."

"George Romney has to have organized strength of his own," Scranton said, "and he can't get it just from the people or from the citizens' groups that are starting up. He has to look to his fellow governors.

"He deserves to come away from Colorado Springs with a secure feeling that the majority of Republican governors want a moderate candidate and are for George Romney—at least for now."

Scranton hopes to get commitments from some of the following GOP governors and governors-elect: John A. Love of Colorado; Spiro T. Agnew of Maryland; John A. Volpe of Massachussetts; Norbert T. Tiemann of Nebraska; Paul Laxalt of Nevada; David F. Cargo of New Mexico; Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York; John H. Chafee of Rhode Island; and Raymond P. Shafer of Pennsylvania.

The Space Treaty

The press last week hailed President Johnson's announcement that a treaty "assuring" that outer space will be used solely for peaceful purposes had been agreed upon by the United States, the Soviet Union and other United Nations members. But military experts say that the treaty, to be submitted to the Senate for ratification in January, is hardly worth the paper it has been written on.

The essential element in the agreement is that no nation shall "place in orbit around the earth any objects carrying nuclear weapons or any other kinds of weapons of mass destruction."

Said one long-time military veteran: "There's absolutely no way we can verify if the Soviets live up to these treaty conditions. So why sign it? We know the Soviets can violate it with impunity."

Observers point out that the space treaty is another "back down" by the United States, since we have long maintained that our policy is to enter into arms control agreements with the Soviet Union and other nations only if those agreements can be verified. But the United States has consistently refused to demand rights of inspection.

The United States, for example, failed to inspect Soviet ships to see if they were withdrawing missiles from Cuba during the Cuban missile crisis; it negotiated the limited test-ban treaty with the Soviet Union without demanding a method for detecting possible Soviet violations; and now it has entered into another unverifiable disarmament treaty.

• While the United States announced it had come to an agreement with the Soviet Union over the use of outer space—an agreement that could lull America into a false sense of security about Soviet military intentions—reports hit the newspapers last week that the Soviet Union was vastly increasing its military strength in both offensive and defensive weapons.

Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara, in fact, admitted that the Soviet Union is now installing ICBMs—nuclear missiles capable of hitting the United States—at a faster rate than had been estimated just a year ago.

A report in the New York *Times,* furthermore, stressed that the Soviets are also developing their anti-ballistic missile system at a rate which has greatly worried President Johnson. Qualified intelligence sources say that anti-ballistic missile facilities are being constructed all over Russia, not just around Moscow and Leningrad as previously believed. They are being positioned across the natural access avenues that American land-based and sea-based missiles must travel to attack key military and industrial targets.

The Soviet defense is believed built around a long-range, solid fuel missile whose capabilities may match or even exceed those of the Nike-Zeus missile. The Russian weapon would attempt to intercept and destroy a missile hundreds of miles from the defended areas.

Noted the *Times:* "The first elements of this so-called area defense are expected to become operational within the next 12 months. At that point, Russia will have a limited capability to destroy incoming missiles. The United States has no such defense, except on paper and in prototype equipment."

The ILA Boycott

Leaders of the International Longshoremen's Association have flatly rejected Administration pleas they relax their stringent—and highly effective—boycott of Communist cargoes. The union's executive council reaffirmed its all-out opposition to trade with the enemy.

ILA President Teddy Gleason—whose union is supreme on the Atlantic, Gulf and Great Lakes docks—said that any local handling of Soviet goods would be severely disciplined. Officials of the State and Commerce Departments had sought in vain to convince Gleason that "peaceful trade" can "build bridges" to the Communist bloc.

The ILA boycott has put a severe crimp in "Great Society" plans to hypo East-West trade.

The boycott means that the Soviets must load and unload at Canadian or West Coast ports, which usually requires additional rail freight charges. The Pacific Coast docks are open to Red ships because of their domination by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, which was ousted from the CIO in 1950 as Communist-dominated.

Group Explores Red Trade

Red trade experts in the Capitol are curious to find out who prompted a two-week trip by four members of the House Banking and Currency Committee to five European countries, including Soviet Russia. The four members—who left December 7 and won't return until the 18th—are Democrats Thomas L. Ashley of Ohio and Thomas Rees of California and Republicans James Harvey of Michigan and Chester Mize of Kansas. They will travel to Rome, Belgrade, Budapest, Prague and Moscow.

The announced purpose of the trip is to explore the possibility of expanding trade with Communist countries. According to one source, the four will look particularly into Soviet plans to build a Fiat plant that is supposed to produce some 600,000 autos a year. LBJ has already announced approval of an Export-Import Bank loan so the Fiat company in Italy can purchase American machine tools which will end up in the Soviet plant.

Though the trip was originally proposed by Rep. Wright Patman (D.-Tex.), chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, there is much speculation that Texan Lyndon Johnson put Texan Patman up to arranging the trip on the hope that the lawmakers will get Congress to approve Administration plans for stepping up Red trade.

Conservatives can take some consolation from the fact that at least one of the touring congressmen, Chester Mize, has expressed skepticism about the value of expanding trade with the Communists. Mize, who had some difficulty getting the Soviets to permit him into Russia, has said he "has to be shown" that trade will help the West. The Kansas congressman has consistently opposed sending wheat and machine tools to the Communists in the past.

McNamara's Deception

Only two conclusions may be drawn from the Texas White House announcement last week that Viet Nam war costs are running at a level twice the $10 billion estimated in the fiscal '67 budget: Defense Secretary Robert McNamara has engaged in deliberate deception of the American people. Or his highly touted "cost accounting" program is a monstrous failure.

McNAMARA

For more than a year military experts on both sides of Capitol Hill have maintained that McNamara's escalation of the war required a sharp increase in funding. McNamara denied this, as did Gardner Ackley, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and Treasury Secretary Henry Fowler.

In a speech cleared by McNamara's own censors, Ackley said that estimates of increased spending were "pure figments of someone's imagination." The barbs were aimed at Sen. John Stennis (D.-Miss.), chairman of the Senate Preparedness subcommittee, and Melvin Laird (R.-Wis.), a ranking Republican on the House Defense Appropriations subcommittee.

In a speech earlier this year, well after the decision had been made to increase the number of U.S. troops in Viet Nam to 400,000, Secretary Fowler quoted "those most qualified to judge" (i.e., McNamara's own staff) as ridiculing any suggestion that a supplemental appropriation would be needed.

Yet last week the White House revealed McNamara needs an additional $9 or $10 billion to finance Vietnamese operations in the remaining months of this fiscal year.

McNamara maintains blithely that no error was made, that the original estimate was predicated on his belief that the war would be over by next summer. Correspondent Edwin Dale of the New York *Times* is dubious:

"Mr. McNamara's Pentagon is reliably reported to have consistently supplied underestimates of defense spending as the year went on, or no estimates at all. There is the widespread view here that the original understatement of expenditure was largely political, to make the war seem cheaper than it was, particularly before the election. But some high officials place the blame in good part on poor estimating procedures in the Pentagon."

• *Republican Richard Ogilvie took over last week as president of the Cook County (Chicago) County Board, a post he won in the November elections. But outgoing president Seymour F. Simon, a Democrat, first destroyed the personnel records that indicate the political sponsorship of 10,000 county employes. In doing so, Simon threw a monkey wrench into Ogilvie's announced plans to put county employes on a merit basis and terminate an infamous spoils system.*

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Why Has File No. 3106 Not Been Publicized?

Working papers of the Warren Commission contain a curious story told to U.S. embassy by a mysterious Russian

From the Allen-Scott Report

One of the most curious pieces of information uncovered by the Warren Commission during its investigation of President Kennedy's assassination was an extraordinary statement volunteered by a Russian.

This "Mr. X," seemingly nervous and uneasy, appeared unexpectedly at the U.S. embassy in Moscow some six months after the Dallas murder. To embassy officials he claimed to have known Lee Harvey Oswald and his wife Marina when they lived in the Soviet.

In penciled notes the Russian left at the embassy, now among the more than 20,000 "working papers" given the National Archives by the Warren Commission, Oswald is linked to Jack Ruby, his slayer, and the KGB, Soviet secret police. These remarkable notes and covering correspondence, and an analysis by embassy officials, were extensively censored by the State Department with the Warren Commission's approval.

Name of the mysterious Russian, described in the State Department correspondence as "a relatively pleasant-looking man," was deleted as well as that of the embassy official who talked to him.

Also omitted was the date of the interview. The only reference to them is a notation in the State Department's "memorandum of conversation" that it took place in the "summer of 1964."

The Warren Commission attempted to get at the bottom of the Russian's strange story. Both the FBI and CIA dug into the matter, but with no success. The probers were unable to either confirm or disprove this perplexing information.

However, among the commission's records in the National Archives is an FBI report that Oswald corresponded with a KGB official in the Soviet embassy in Washington after returning to the United States.

Also in the commission's record is a CIA document stating that the Soviet diplomat in Mexico City with whom Oswald had a meeting shortly before the assassination was the top KGB official in the embassy there.

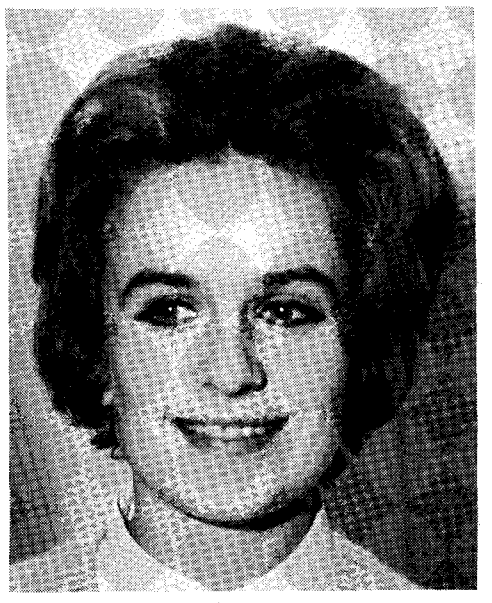
All the documents relating to this bizarre affair are in a separate commission file designated "Mr. X's File, No. 3106."

Following are the principal items in this file, consisting of the heavily censored notes left by the mysterious Russian, the State Department's correspondence and the report of the embassy official who talked to him.

On the stationery of the embassy in Moscow, a one-page letter reads as follows—with the censored portions indicated by blank spaces:

"Dear. . . .

"In sum, . . . as a former acquaintance of Mr. and Mrs. Oswald in 1960 in Gorky: (1) maintained that Oswald knew Ruby, at least in 1960; (2) believed Oswald was under the influence of the KGB; (3) presumed Mrs. Oswald was a KGB agent; and (4) said a group of people in the United States, probably Communists, helped in the assassination.



Both assassin Lee Harvey Oswald and his wife, Marina, were the subject of a mysterious tale related by an unknown Russian to U.S. authorities in Moscow.

"We agree these are incredible statements, but felt they must be passed on, and in this form, due to the sensitivity of the subject. Both . . . agree that . . . gave the appearance of being genuine. . . . It's conceivable that some of his statements might check out with information available in Washington but not here.

"He stuck to his story and never contradicted himself, although his tale was long and circuitous. He insisted that it all took place in Gorky, even though he knew the Oswalds had been in Byelorussia most of the time. This physical location might jibe with facts in the case but we can remember no connection with that city.

"Sincerely yours,

"True copy with deletions as indicated."

An account of the interview and impressions of "Mr. X" are contained in a document titled "Memorandum of Conversation," also extensively censored, as follows:

"On . . . was advised by . . . that a Soviet citizen . . . wished 'to make an important statement on who killed Kennedy'. . . .

" . . . was a relatively pleasant-looking man, dressed in comparatively good Soviet clothes, fairly well-composed but justifiably nervous. He spoke very rapidly in good literate Russian. . . . He looked lost, but reconciled to his fate as he left. He spoke often about how the KGB knew of the information he had to impart. . . . He maintained, however, that the KGB had not contacted him in any way prior to his visit. He came, apparently from near Gorky where he now lives, to . . . on . . . and has been staying in a hotel.

"The interview took place. . . .

"First, . . . nervously pulled out a slip of paper out of his pocket and asked the two officers to read the penciled contents. A translation follows and the original is attached with the first copy of his Memcon:

"'1. Ruby is an old friend of Oswald, specialist in slimy [Mokrya] affairs.

"'2. Oswald's wife—KGB agent [photograph].

"'3. A group of people directly helped the assassination, probably they are U.S.A. Communists. Now they are running from U.S.A.'

" . . . then set up 'to prove' the above statement:

"1. . . . knew Oswald in Gorky in April-May 1960. At the time the former lived in . . . near Gorky. . . . Oswald told him he was an old friend of Ruby's and he would help Oswald in the future, should he need it (. . . interchanged the name Ruby and Rubenstein).

"2. . . . sister was a KGB agent. She was very close to Mrs. Oswald, before Oswalds were married, and for a while they were roommates near Gorky . . . therefore assumes Mrs. Oswald was also an agent.

"3. . . . . Once Oswald invited. . . to go shooting. He refused, but in this meeting Oswald asked . . . what he thought would happen if the President of the United Sates was assassinated. At that time Eisenhower was President, but Oswald was talking in terms of the assassination of Nixon, whom he considered the probable next President. Oswald maintained there were groups in the United States who could carry this out . . . assumed Oswald meant some Socialist or radical group party, but the latter emphasized it was the Communist party of the United States.

"Following this 'proof' of his contentions . . . gave background information on himself and more details on his association with Oswald and the KGB. . . .

"In answer to the question of what the aim was of an assassination plot against the President, . . said it was to prove a reaction against the 'wild men' [besheny] in the United States."

Also in the "Mr. X" file is a short memorandum by a Warren Commission staff member stating that Sen. Richard Russell (D.-Ga.), one of the investigators, had read all of these documents.

Russell has made no secret that he feels Oswald's wife did not tell the commission all she knows about his activities and associations both in Russia and in the United States. Russell has said he feels she should have been more vigorously grilled. During the inquiry he asked the State Department and CIA to seek more data on Oswald's stay in Russia.

There is no indication in the commission's records that it interrogated the U.S. official who conferred with the mysterious Russian in the Moscow embassy. Also no explanation for this omission.

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Syrian chief of state Nureddine Atassi tells a Damascus crowd he will send arms to Jordanian insurgents. Some Jordanians want to overthrow pro-Western King Hussein because they think he is "soft on Israel."

Middle East Crisis

U.N. resolution may well do more harm than good

From the Arizona *Republic*

A full-blown Middle East crisis is in the making. The recent United Nations resolution rebuking Israel will not resolve it. The Security Council may even have added fuel to the fire. For the simple fact of the matter is that the U.N. resolution, despite the support of every member of the Security Council except New Zealand, cannot be enforced. Both the Jews and the Arabs are well aware of the U.N.'s impotence.

The Israeli raid on the Jordanian village of Es Samua was a brutal and bloody affair. It was particularly censurable because it was made in reprisal for a raid that never was definitely established as being Jordanian in origin. In fact, most of the evidence indicates that the original raid came from Syria. A reprisal raid against Jordan for an action initiated by someone else has no justification in international law.

And yet there is no arguing with the truth of Premier Levi Eshkol's statement in Jerusalem on November 27: "So long as the Security Council has not adopted effective measures to stop the aggressor, it is the duty and right of an attacked state to defend itself."

Despite the U.N. action, the Israelis obviously have a right to protect themselves against Arab raids. As the United States has demonstrated in Viet Nam, the right of reprisal (by bombing North Viet Nam for terror in South Viet Nam) is well established.

The Israeli raids, however, may have far larger implications than mere punishment for Arab raids. They have subjected King Hussein of Jordan to tremendous political pressure from the Palestinian Arab refugees in Jordan, who want to get arms and march against Israel.

King Hussein had to send his troops against 10,000 of the refugees in Jerusalem and elsewhere to prevent anarchy. He even had to accept aid from King Feisal of Saudi Arabia, in the form of 20,000 troops to help Jordan maintain peace and patrol its borders.

The two kings head moderate and pro-Western regimes that offer the only Middle East counterweight to Egyptian President Nasser and his pro-Communist friends. If the Israeli attack on Jordan should weaken the present governments of Jordan and Saudi Arabia, both Israel and the United States would be the losers.

The U.S. policy of maintaining a military equilibrium between Israel and its neighbors is a difficult and dangerous one. But it appears to be the one course that will prevent the current flash fire from igniting into a general conflagration. If the Middle East is headed for a major war, the United States should be doubly careful about commitments which, in view of our Viet Nam undertaking, would be impossible to keep.

New Cuban School

From the Nashville *Banner*

When it was announced earlier this year that the United Nations Development Fund had bestowed $2.1 million on Fidel Castro's "School of Technology" at the University of Havana [see *Human Events,* Jan. 29, 1966, page 4.] the *Banner* reminded editorially of two things:

1. Bearing 40 per cent of the United Nation's costs, the United States contribution to that handout was $840,000.

2. The "technology" pushed in that Communist nest was addressed to its program of hemispheric subversion. As defined by Raul Castro, the dictator's brother and Cuban armed forces minister, "We have stressed the great importance of having soldiers instruct the teachers of technology. For they work shoulder-to-shoulder with the Communist party and with your youth to achieve our goals."

Now a "new university for guerrillas" has been established at Havana, whose graduates will be shipped around the continent and to Asia and Africa to foment "people's war." That's the major Cuban export these days.

It is the principal item on Castro's education program – "technical" or otherwise—and will continue to be, so long as the rest of the hemisphere contents itself with putting out the incendiary blazes set instead of extinguishing the source-point.

Castro cannot act to lift Cuba's economic status, nor abate the increasing poverty of his hungry people, their industrial base ravished by his intrigue; but he can establish a "university"—a sort of branch office for Moscow and Peking—to train sneaks in riot, sedition and jungle warfare.

His school-opening announcement at least should put neighbors on additional alert, both to check on its graduates fanning out from there, and to keep a weather eye out for their own nationals enrolling.

Not yet has it been disclosed that any U.N. development fund figures in this new operation, but it would not be too surprising.

After Two Years

Appraising the Job Corps

From the Richmond *News Leader*

In 1964, when the Job Corps was established, Director Otis Singletary said that it would require at least three years' time before the program could be fairly appraised. The Job Corps, now aged two, is two-thirds along the way.

The picture may improve somewhat during the coming year, but current statistics offer little basis for the hope that the Job Corps will prove an effective program for dropouts.

At the end of October, 78,100 boys and girls aged 16-22 had been through the Job Corps pipeline. Of these, 12,950 had been graduated, 25,100 had resigned (11,000 during the first 30 days after enrollment), and 10,800 had been discharged for disciplinary and psychological reasons. The number of resignations and discharges figures out to roughly a 46 per cent rate of failure.

Using more complicated methods, Job Corps officials place the dropout rate at 25 per cent, which they say isn't a bad record for a program that deals almost exclusively with dropouts.

As of November 21, Job Corps officials had "certified placements" for 7,564 of 13,200 graduates. Of these, 5,617 had jobs, 1,218 were in military service, and 728 were going to school. The average rate of pay for graduates has been estimated at $1.71 an hour, or around $3,500 annually. This gratifying income is more than twice the figure established as a poverty level for a single person.

Poverty czar Sargent Shriver may have trouble getting another $350 million for the Job Corps.

The rationale for the Job Corps rests in the assumption that, in the President's words, taxpayers would be made from tax-eaters. However, if Job Corps graduates average only $1.71 an hour, that happy prospect is highly improbable.

In all fairness, however, it may be said that, while graduates of the corps will not repay the costs of their training through the taxes they pay, at least they will not be on the welfare rolls. The other side of the story is that the 13,200 graduates on November 21 had cost the taxpayers some $600 million.

That's a fair sum of money, even considering that large portions of it were spent in capital investment. Sargent Shriver plans to ask for another $350 million to continue the Job Corps for fiscal 1968, but, given a more conservative House, he may have great difficulty in getting it.

Already, alternate plans to the Job Corps concept are being considered, with at least one plan taking into account the fine record in job-training made by private industry. This plan would enlist the aid of industry in on-the-job training programs, with the federal government covering one-third of the cost.

No one denies that dropouts represent a critical problem; differences occur merely on preferred methods of helping them. Clearly, the poor record of the Job Corps to date indicates that this approach is not only costly, but also ineffectual.

If homesickness is a predominant cause for dropouts in the Job Corps, perhaps local centers to help youngsters in their own environment might prove more effective. Such centers, geared especially to the needs of dropouts, might be patterned after the successful Opportunities Industrialization Center founded by the Rev. Leon Sullivan in Philadelphia.

It is important that the thousands of dropouts be encouraged to live productive lives, but Congress, in considering the results attained so far from $600 million spent on the Job Corps, may well wonder: What price the pound of cure?

□ □ □

COLUMNIST DREW PEARSON reports that lobbyists for organized labor have reassessed their legislative strategy in the wake of the November elections. They have decided to abandon efforts to repeal state right-to-work laws, to revise the Taft-Hartley Act and to liberalize the unemployment compensation program. Instead, the AFL-CIO strategy will be to "hold the line against any anti-labor legislation," according to Pearson.

Why Defect?

From the Indianapolis *Star*

Lt. Col. Le Xuan Chuyen had been a Communist for 20 of his 37 years.

He had joined in 1945 when the party was known as the "Indochinese Workers party." He rose through party ranks, took military training and six years ago was promoted to lieutenant colonel and appointed commander of the 66th Regiment, 304th Viet Cong Division.

A couple of months ago he defected. He was the highest-ranking Viet Cong to do so.

Recently he was presented to newsmen who interviewed him. Why had he defected? He said that he was not satisfied with the Viet Cong "way of dominating," that there was "no private ownership or free press" under the Communists.

It is too bad that Le Xuan Chuyen cannot be brought to the United States to lecture Viet Cong sympathizers here who still welcome the delusion that North Viet Nam is a "workers' paradise."

As Col. Chuyen told his interviewers: "Man should be free."

□ □ □

IDEAS VS. RELIGION — "The [Communist] party's only weapon in its struggle against religion is ideas. The party strives to have all Soviet people acquire a scientific materialist and, consequently, an atheistic world outlook, and to free the minds of believers from the millennium-old residues of religious dogma that fetter their creative capacities. . . . Atheisim is not an invention of godless Communists. It is an historic inevitability, the product of the development of human society."—George Ulyanov in *Soviet Life,* August 1965

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Spends Millions on Special Projects

Reuther Wants to Launch Own Federation

By VICTOR RIESEL

There are very few authentic Reutherologists.

But from the handful of men who claim such distinction because of their intimacy with the rusty-haired Detroit labor leader comes word that Walter Reuther had personally attempted to launch a massive independent labor movement earlier this month. Its jurisdiction would have been the entire North American continent—from Hudson Bay to the south of old Mexico.

Money would have been no problem. With $10 million in the treasuries of organizations he controls, his projects today have a healthier gold flow than the government.

For some time now the restless Detroiter has been eager to bolt the AFL and revive the old CIO which he headed until both sides merged in '55.

In the merged AFL-CIO he is a minority of one, though his union paid it $965,735.54 in per capita dues for the year ending June 30, 1965. With this money he could run his own central labor headquarters in Washington.

A few days before labor's high command was scheduled to meet here in Washington on November 14 for a showdown on foreign policy, Reuther personally telephoned some of the old militants who were with him in the late Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Until now these private conversations have gone unreported.

He asked the labor leaders confidentially if they would break with the patriarchal American Federation of Labor, now about 80 years old. He spoke to the men who, like himself, disagreed sharply with the tough, inflexible policy of rugged, cigar-chewing, fire-breathing George Meany on relations with the East, Near and Far.

Reuther and the men he telephoned are for recognition of Red China, a

A split between Walter Reuther (above) and AFL-CIO chief George Meany appears imminent.

two-China policy in the United Nations, and cordial exchanges and trade with Eastern Europe.

In their talks with Reuther over the phone lines, one or two of his colleagues gave Meany's position a verbal hosing. But, they told Reuther, foreign policy was not the issue on which to make a fight. Perhaps some other battle line could be firmed up for the Feb. 20, 1967, high command session in Florida. But not now.

Furthermore, George Meany, 72 years or no 72 years, had outmaneuvered Reuther. The AFL-CIO president simply rounded up all the important foreign resolutions adopted by the AFL-CIO since December 1955. These were mimeographed and put in a 35-page booklet called "Resume of AFL-CIO International Policies, December 1955 to August 1966." This was sent to the other 28 members of the AFL-CIO Executive Council some 10 days before they were to meet.

This booklet, soon to be published as a pamphlet, proved one thing: with the exception of one resolution, Walter Reuther had approved AFL-CIO tough foreign policy statements for 11 years. How could he argue against himself now?

That's why he boycotted the council session. But he was not idle. He spent the week preparing to go independent—on the issues. He is not ready to bolt the AFL-CIO yet. Not alone.

But he'll be busy. For example, at the end of the month he and younger brother Victor plan to fly down to Mexico. They will help revitalize something Victor set up there in February—"The National Labor Council for Auto Workers in the Republic of Mexico." This is part of the Reuthers' global unionism reaching right across to Japan. In Mexico it includes the workers at all six big auto companies.

For this sort of worldwide operation Reuther has some $3.5 million in his International Solidarity Fund.

The Reuthers work with similar councils on all continents and have dispatched their specialists all the way to Australia in the past year.

On the home front, Reuther plans to plunge more heavily into his own poverty program. With a million dollars donated by the United Auto Workers, Reuther's Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty is functioning smoothly in hundreds of communities. Now it has plans to expand—and is raising another $3 million.

Nor is he ignoring the industrial front—including what he calls "factories in the fields" (agriculture). This area he covers through the Industrial Union Department, a fast-moving combine of unions with a liquid treasury of over $3.5 million.

Thus he has freedom of action and the cash to pay for it. He'll use both, as the headlines soon will prove, while awaiting allies to join him in taking a walk out of the merged federation of labor.

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Tax Increase Not Needed

By HENRY HAZLITT

It should now be obvious to everyone that the federal budget is out of control.

On November 29 President Johnson announced at a press conference that he had made a $5.3-billion cutback in federal spending programs, which would "achieve a $3-billion cut in spending for the next seven months of this fiscal year." Hasty readers no doubt assumed that this meant a $3-billion cut from last January's estimate of Administration spending of a little under $113 billion.

But the very next day presidential aides let it be known that administrative spending in the current fiscal year, instead of being $110 billion, or even $113 billion, would rise to $127 or $130 billion.

It also became clear that most of the budget cutbacks announced by Mr. Johnson on the previous day represented delays in spending, not outright cancellations.

The increased spending is being blamed on the war in Viet Nam. But even after we increase the estimate of defense spending to $70 billion from the January estimate of $60 billion, we find that most of the taxpayers' dollars are still going for non-defense purposes.

All of which makes it more obvious than ever that the proposal of a tax increase is indefensible. There are four main reasons against it:

1. It would accomplish nothing that could not be far more effectively accomplished by an equivalent cutback in the fantastic spending increases of the last three or four years.

2. Taxes have already been raised twice in the last two years. Revenues are now at a record level.

3. There is no guarantee whatever that a tax rate increase would bring in proportionately more revenue. If it hurt business it might even bring in less.

4. There would probably be a delay of three to six months in getting a tax increase through Congress and a further delay of six to 12 months before the expected increased revenues came in, if they ever did. But an expenditure cut could be made and felt almost immediately.

In announcing his spending cuts, Mr. Johnson indicated none in his welfare programs. "It would be shortsighted," he said, "to shortchange the young or the needy, the ill or the old. We have not done that."

But the Administration has been doing precisely that in the last three years in its inflationary spending and monetary programs.

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This is the Ultimate Shaver—we think this is the finest shaver made in the world today. Cordless or otherwise. In our opinion it makes all others obsolete. Here, for your consideration, are the principal reasons why we believe the ACCUMEN to be "the ultimate".

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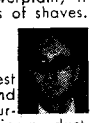
KUDOS FROM ACCUMEN FANS

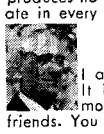
Here are a few unsolicited fan letters from erstwhile doubting Thomases who became solid ACCUMEN partisans. How about you?

Harold Parker, Box 67, Vanceburg, Kentucky
Truly outstanding—beats anything made in this country. I never even use a mirror with the ACCUMEN, because I can actually **hear** when I have a perfect shave. Please send two additional shavers as gifts to friends.

Joel Adler, 2635 Haring Street, Brooklyn, New York
Shaving with the ACCUMEN is a pleasurable experience. I now realize that a close, non-irritating shave is possible with an electric. The formidable powerplant, if charged overnight, lasts for two weeks of shaves.

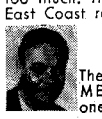


Roger P. Siegel, 2036 E. 22nd Street, Cleveland, Ohio
I consider your ACCUMEN the finest shaver made. It cuts fast and close and produces no razor burn. Your ad is accurate in every detail. You have a superior product.

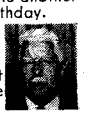


Harry L. Hooker, Box 11, Glasgo, Connecticut
I am very pleased with the ACCUMEN. It is all you claim it to be and much more. I have recommended it to all my friends. You may count me as a loyal user.

Rev. Wm. H. Hohman, Pastor, Alliance, Ohio
Please send me another ACCUMEN Shaver. This is the third one I have ordered—my friends seem to like them *too much. If this keeps up I might become your* East Coast representative.



Robert Buckner, 818 N. Doheny Drive, Los Angeles 69, California
There is only one word for the ACCUMEN—"superb". Please send me another one. I want it for my son's birthday.



L. D. Myrah, Williamson Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio
The ACCUMEN is without doubt the best shaver I have ever owned—and I have had at least six different makes.

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- ☐ Yellow Blinker Light Attachment.....$ 4.95
- ☐ Automobile Charging Unit (12 or 6V.) $ 4.95
- ☐ Praktikus-5, ACCUMEN with all attachments in zippered travel case....$39.95
- ☐ Praktikus-TW; same, but with ACCUMEN TRANSWORLD $41.95
- ☐ Spare Shaving Head.....$ 4.95

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What's the Real Story Behind Manchester's Book on Kennedy?

By LESLIE DAVID

(*Leslie David is the pen name of a staff correspondent of the London* Daily Express, *which was bidding on the British serialization rights to the Manchester book.*)

King of the cocktail party circuits in New York and Washington at the moment is the man who can boast he has read a proof copy of a 350,000-word book to be published next spring by an American journalist.

The avid cluster of people around him will be even greater if he can also lay claim to expert knowledge of the intricate infighting that has gone on behind the scenes to have the account of events surrounding President Kennedy's assassination stopped or "adjusted."

Rumors surrounding William Manchester's book, *The Death of A President,* have reached such wild proportions that to track them down is to participate in a surrealistic detective game.

It is a world of gossiping authors, agents, publishers and university professors.

But to cleave through the cocktail hour fairy story, the truth appears to be: One, Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy has had serious second thoughts about the book she personally commissioned; and two, Bobby Kennedy is anxious in case his own political ambitions are threatened by episodes relating to Lyndon Johnson.

One publisher involved in the fight to make sure the story achieves a publication date told me: "When the Kennedys want their way, they come at you with brass knuckles."

Extensive Research

This was the experience of Jim Bishop, the newspaper columnist, who wanted to write his own book on the assassination. He found the participants in that tragic moment of history had been asked by Mrs. Kennedy not to speak to him. [See *Human Events,* Oct. 1, 1966, page 4.]

Mrs. Kennedy wanted only Manchester's version to appear. She spoke of "hiring" Manchester and when Bishop pleaded with her not to stand in the doorway of history she wrote: "If I decide the book should never be published—then Mr. Manchester will be reimbursed for his time. Or if I decide it should be known—I will decide when it should be published."

None of this tallies with Mr. Manchester's own conception of his role. He says: "Neither Mrs. Kennedy nor anyone else is in any way answerable for my subsequent research on this narrative. My relationships with all the principal figures were entirely professional. I received no financial assistance from the Kennedy family. I was on no government payroll. No one tried to lead me."

Mr. Manchester came onto the scene 10 weeks after the assassination of Nov. 22, 1963. He and Mrs. Kennedy had never met, but she and her late husband had enjoyed Manchester's book, *Portrait of A President,* published in 1962.

It is an adulatory, immensely readable view of President Kennedy, peppered with gossip items, and while Manchester does not ignore the warts, somehow they emerge as beauty spots.

Author William Manchester (left) spent several months working on the Kennedy book, for which he was commissioned by Jacqueline Kennedy. The Kennedy family, however, is having some second thoughts about the volume.

Armed with Mrs. Kennedy's introduction, Manchester set about compiling the version that was to "protect President Kennedy and the truth."

Most doors were opened to him. He slaved seven days a week for two years, conducted more than 1,000 interviews and accumulated 10 hours of tapes in "total recall" sessions with Mrs. Kennedy.

His industry was mighty and when his first draft was completed last spring he collapsed and took to a hospital bed.

He had not, as some sources suggested, interviewed more people than the Warren Commission. The commission had the benefit of at least 3,650 pieces of testimony, but Manchester nevertheless ended up with 45 volumes of interviews.

But where the commission was out to pinpoint a killer, Manchester—who, incidentally, agrees that Oswald did it alone—was also out to capture the emotions and the fantastic transfer of power and allegiances that took place that day.

He seems to have succeeded too well. And in consequence he retired bewildered and hurt to his Connecticut hideaway while his proofs were mulled over by any number of shadowy "interested parties."

Manchester, 44, is a tough-looking ex-reporter (*Daily Oklahoman,* Baltimore *Sun*) with a fine writing style and a reputation for being meticulous in research.

As a writer he has had modest success with several novels, a life of H. L. Mencken and a portrait of the Rockefellers.

Serialization Dispute

To take on Mrs. Kennedy's commission, he suspended work on a book concerning the Krupp family and took leave of absence from his job as managing editor of Wesleyan University Press, publishers of scholarly works.

All was well until Mrs. Kennedy returned from an Hawaiian holiday last summer and found he had sold the serial rights to *Look* magazine for the incredible sum of $650,000.

The impression the Kennedy family has put abroad is that this is akin to an act of treachery but, according to Manchester, from the beginning it was agreed with him that he should have the rights to serialization.

But in response to the Kennedys' wishes, *Look* magazine has reduced the number of segments it will print starting January from seven to four. The family had argued that prolonged publication would cause them distress and the renewed interest in the assassination would upset the children.

The book publication is having an even stormier passage. It was originally scheduled for November, was postponed to January and now the earliest date it is expected to appear is March 1st.

Both Manchester and his New York publisher, Harper and Row, anxious not to appear to be profiteering from the assassination and to appease the family, have agreed to donate all profits after the first print, about 100,000 copies at $10 each, to the Kennedy Library in Boston.

Conversations Regretted

Harper and Row go even further and say that no matter how successful the book is—and there is not much doubt it will be a publishing sensation—they will donate everything above a $45,000 profit to the library.

Says Evan Thomas, a Harper and Row editor: "Mrs. Kennedy is upset. Manchester is upset. He was given a job of work to do and did it. Then he finds himself in the middle of a hailstorm.

"He has done his damnedest not to get rich on it. They are all decent people involved, but you must understand Mrs. Kennedy is terribly emotionally involved and it is difficult for her to accept the inevitable."

Aside from the profiteering controversy, the speculation and rumor have centered on alleged attempts to kill, delay or censor the book.

Here the Kennedys have tried to dissociate themselves from these persistent stories by having it understood the family has not even read the book. But Sen. Robert Kennedy has certainly seen it and it is a fair assumption that Mrs. Kennedy has read, or had read to her, certain portions. A copy is in the hands of her recently married secretary, Pamela Turnure.

Officially it is conceded that family friends are combing the text for errors of taste and fact and for detail harmful to the national interest. New Frontiersman historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. performed a similar function on behalf of Manchester.

All parties say only minor cuts have as yet been made. But the talk in publishing circles today is that Mrs. Kennedy now seeks to hold back publication indefinitely and regrets some of the frank things she told Manchester concerning her intimate life with President Kennedy and the adjustments she had to make in widowhood.

This tape has already been heavily edited by the author as an invasion of privacy.

I am told that in the book Bobby Kennedy, attorney general at the time of the assassination, emerges "a hero" while the picture painted of President Johnson is open to several interpretations.

LBJ Wary of Book

One ugly story concerning alleged boorish behavior by President Johnson in Dallas has twice been printed in other publications and purports to be lifted straight from the text. I am satisfied that this story is not, and never was, in Manchester's draft.

But other Johnson vignettes are still the subject of behind-the-scenes rows. One story has Johnson and President Kennedy arguing just before the shooting because Kennedy had not wanted to go to Dallas at all.

Johnson wanted him there to help patch up a Texas Democratic party feud.

In the plane returning to Washington after the death there is supposed to have been friction between the newly sworn President and Bobby.

President Johnson has undoubtedly been suspicious of the Kennedy-sponsored book project from the start. His door was one of the few that did not fly open when Manchester waved his magic letter from Mrs. Kennedy.

Twice the President cancelled appointments to meet Manchester, but finally answered a written questionnaire.

Naively, Manchester attributes this to the fact that President Johnson had "thrust his memories into a remote corner of his mind. Bringing them out was agonizing, almost unendurable."

Would a tough-minded politician of Johnson's calibre shirk an ordeal that Mrs. Kennedy herself had summoned the strength to face? The truth more likely lies in President Johnson's antipathy for the Kennedy dynasty and legend.

Kennedy Imprimatur

Bobby has overtaken him in the popularity polls and the suspicion lingers, despite the author's protestations of unbias, that the Kennedys would not be unhappy to see LBJ emerge from that day in Dallas in a poor light.

But Bobby has to resolve the question: Would too much dirty linen look like a clumsy attempt at doing down his chief political rival? Bobby told a columnist recently: "I don't want anybody else to get hurt on this."

The book's final form is still uncertain. But one thing is clear—however the Kennedy family wants it published, that is the way it almost certainly will be.

One executive involved in the serialization told me: "The Kennedys are our royal family. Mrs. Kennedy is a wily woman possessing great strength. She knows she is adored and anyone disagreeing with her in public is going to look like a gutter rat."

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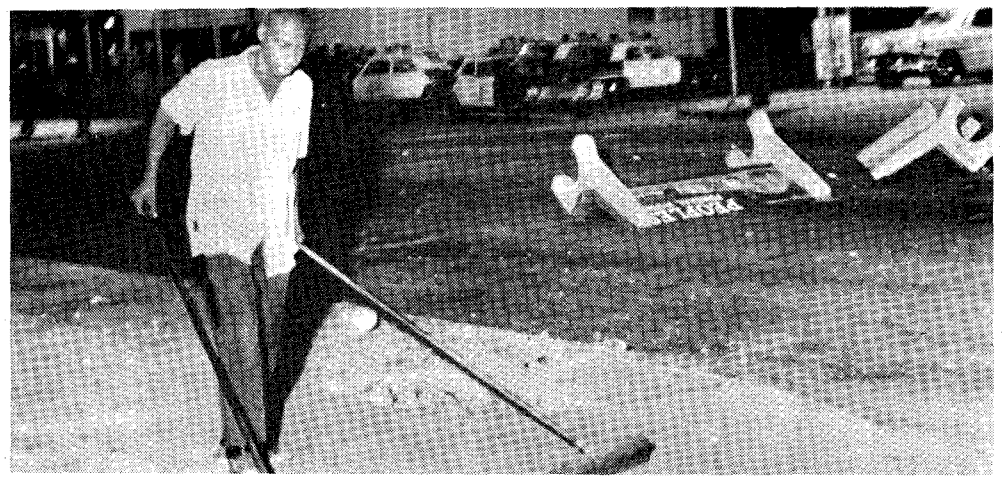

The big Watts cleanup begins, but more importantly, private enterprise has moved in to help provide needed jobs.

California Businessmen Teach Lesson to the 'Mayors' Lobby'

Without any large federal aid, over 11,000 Watts residents have found new jobs

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

In 1964 the Urban League made a study of 68 U.S. cities to determine the status of the Negro in a metropolitan environment. Ten separate economic factors were taken into account by the surveyors. Curiously, in the light of what was to happen in Watts, Los Angeles emerged with the best record of all the 68 communities. Compared to Harlem and Chicago, Watts was a fortunate neighborhood.

In the light of the Urban League study the magnitude of the so-called "Watts rebellion," which resulted in 34 deaths, 4,000 arrests, and the destruction of $40 million in property, must remain one of the stranger mysteries of recent history. But even more curious has been the magnificent response of leading businessmen to the disaster that hit Los Angeles.

Instead of wailing to the world that their city had done less to deserve its Negro rebellion than 67 other major cities in the United States, the Los Angeles businessmen, working through a Chamber of Commerce committee, decided to do something positive to change the image of their community.

In the 14 months since the Watts uprising, the Los Angeles business community has accomplished what can only be described as a near-miracle. It has cut the number of the Watts-area unemployed, which stood at 25,000 in September 1965, almost in half. Yet this heartening story has had little publicity in any of the big urban centers of the U.S. East Coast or the industrial Middle West. Why?

One can only suppose that, since the "cure" for Watts has been largely carried out by private industry, it hasn't shone forth as "public business." If Mayor Lindsay of New York or Mayor Daley of Chicago had only managed to do half as well on public funds toward eradicating Negro unemployment in their particular slums, the story would have been blazoned forth all over the nation.

What is so impressive about the Los Angeles story is that it began with the action of a seven-man committee which had no funds worth mentioning. Set up by the Chamber of Commerce on the same day that the McCone Investigating Commission was formed, the seven-man committee discovered from existing job agencies that the 25,000 Watts unemployed co-existed with an actual shortage of skilled and semi-skilled workers throughout industry in metropolitan Los Angeles.

The problem, realistically defined, was to match jobs with potential jobholders. The seven-man committee dispatched a telegram to the presidents of 100 major corporations in the Los Angeles region. Invited to attend a one-hour conference in the board room of the Chamber of Commerce, 100 presidents came.

From this point on the movement to match qualified Watts-area residents with the jobs that had been going begging took on avalanche speed. The California Employment Service, with an office in the heart of the 46-square-mile Watts "curfew area," met with a committee of top personnel men formed by the 100 companies and with a 50-member, all-Negro businessmen's committee. Within three months more than 2,000 had been hired from the Watts area by the 100 interested firms.

This was Phase One of the operation. Phase Two was set in motion by the creation of a non-profit organization called the Management Council for Merit Employment, Training and Research, with H. C. McClellan, chairman of the board of the Old Colony Paint and Chemical Co., acting as president. Financing was provided by six aerospace companies which subscribed $23,000.

The Haynes Foundation of Los Angeles and the Ford Foundation each put up $50,000. And the number of directly participating corporations was increased from the original 100 to 267. Later, with smaller firms enlisted, the list of cooperating companies jumped to 2,600. By March 1966 the total job placements for the Watts area had reached 4,751. And since then some 7,000 more "employables" have found work with the 2,600 companies. The Management Council is currently tackling the problem of the "unemployables," working with Los Angeles "skill centers" that have been underwritten by the government.

In the East Coast cities of the United States, and in the Midwest industrial areas, the "mayors' lobby" wrings its hands and demands billions from Washington to end Negro unemployment. Query: why doesn't the "Mayors' lobby" send an emissary to California to learn how a self-respecting community can meet a crisis on its own?

(Copyright 1966, King Features Synd.)

U.S. Communist Party Plans Defense Plant Recruiting Drive

By VICTOR RIESEL

Some 80 members of the American Communist party's leadership, which radically slashed its average age in grudging compromise with the "go-go" generation, have been meeting secretly here in New York City.

The older members herd the 25 or so younger men and women about and hush their tones as though they are perpetually bugged, constantly photographed through long-distance lenses and observed through magic one-way mirrors. There is no such surveillance, but the party's heavily financed National Committee takes no chances.

They have serious strategy to devise at this session, the first since their June national convention. Their assignment is to revitalize the party. For this task, they have been told there will be ample funds.

As evidence of the ready cash flow, there is the recent 77-day, 13-nation trip of party leader Gus Hall, two of his personal family and at least two from among the party's highest comrades. Hall flew from New York to Uruguay and across to Eastern Europe and even on to Mongolia.

For ordinary non-Marxist mortals, such a hegira for a group this size would have cost at least $15,000. But Hall just never ran out of rubles—or the equivalent thereof.

We crossed paths in Helsinki, where the Communist party spread word he had been active in the steelworkers union. I set that record straight. Hall hasn't seen a blast furnace outside of a movie house, though he knew much about blasting.

There is no doubt that the luxurious journey was used to build up Hall, and also his party, as one of the forces in the battle between Moscow and Mao. There is no doubt that Hall has been briefed in detail on the role of the revamped American party headquartered on West 26th Street here.

There is no doubt that the Communist Party, U.S.A., now will concentrate on infiltrating strategically placed locals of key national unions in an effort to use them as megaphonic outlets for "labor" attacks on American action in Viet Nam.

All this is being developed at the current "section" session of the party's National Committee. It will choose a national trade union secretary before it adjourns. He will be George Meyers, one of the party's obscure but powerful operatives.

His "power base" is the Baltimore-Washington, D.C., Communist party section of which he is chief now—and this is a region not lightly handed to anyone. It includes the entire governmental intrastructure.

Meyers will work with a smaller national board which is the real establishment in American communism. They are realists. Let no one think them romantics who believe their 12,000 members can take over the powerhouses and broadcasting facilities.

They'll go after the youth and the minorities, but especially labor. What they want is just a few cadres in the big unions and defense plants. Then they can sing out and make it sound as though they were a mighty anti-Vietnamese chorus rumbling up from the very gut of our war production.

What they await eagerly is a Supreme Court decision in the relatively unknown case of the *U.S.A. vs. Eugene Frank Robel.*

Back in 1963 Robel was charged with unlawfully and willfully engaging "in employment in a defense facility; to wit, Todd Shipyards Corp., Seattle Division, while at the same time being a member of the Communist party. . . ." This, the government charged, was illegal under the McCarran Act which prohibits Communists from working in an installation designated as a defense site by the secretary of defense. Robel challenged this.

The defendant, who has worked for Todd in Seattle for over 14 years, has won all decisions in the federal district and appeals courts. Now the high bench has it.

Communist party leader Gus Hall recently toured Communist capitals to plan strategy for his U.S. comrades at home.

The government charges that the act is constitutional because the Soviet Union controls a world Communist movement. Justice Fortas asked whether recent polycentrism (splintering) did not affect this view. The government replied—not in this area. It is expected that the Supreme Court will rule in Robel's favor and knock out the law's defense plant section.

When this happens, party Labor Secretary Meyers is expected to launch organizing drives in many of the 3,000 defense production plants. If a pro-Hanoi outcry can be unleashed from these installations, the party's National Committee will consider its early December 1966 planning session very successful indeed.

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NO FUEL HE—Two Germans in the Communist zone were discussing the fuel shortage under communism. The first said, "Your house is always warm. How do you manage it?" The second answered, "In strict confidence, it's my parrot. I taught him to say 'Long Live Party Chief Ulbricht.' Then I put him on our balcony overlooking the wood depot. Every time the parrot screams that slogan, the depot workers throw firewood at it. So now I get all the fuel I need."

□ □ □

IT'S JUST AS WELL—LBJ has declared war on poverty, unemployment, ignorance and inflation. Considering the results of these "wars," perhaps it's just as well he doesn't declare war on the Viet Cong.

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Imprisoned in Mexico

The Strange Case of Dykes Askew Simmons

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

The strange case of Dykes Askew Simmons Jr. began at 8 o'clock on the evening of Monday, Oct. 12, 1959, when a Mexican dentist named Raul Perez Villagomez, driving south, passed through Laredo customs. With him were his brother Juan, 14, and his sisters Martha, 21, and Hilda, 18.

Forty-five minutes later, driving a two-tone 1954 Oldsmobile, D.A. Simmons passed through the checkpoint. He was then 29 years old, a crane operator in Fort Worth; it was his first trip to Mexico; he had nothing more in mind than a free-wheeling holiday.

At about 9:15, on a deserted stretch of highway 57 miles south of Laredo, the Villagomez car broke down. Leaving his brother and sisters in the car, the dentist hitched a ride into a nearby village for help. When he returned about 10:30—the chronology is not clear—he found Juan and Martha dead and Hilda dying. They had been riddled with .22 calibre bullets.

Hilda was able to provide a detailed description of the killer: He was a blonde young American driving a light blue Chevrolet, who had stopped to see if he could lend assistance.

He was tall—about six feet; he weighed perhaps 200 pounds; he had two gold teeth on the right side; he was wearing a white shirt and dark trousers. When he failed to get the motor running, young Juan laughed at him. The stranger then went berserk and started firing.

The case created a sensation in Nuevo Leon. Mexican police at once obtained the names at Laredo of all Americans who had driven south through the checkpoint that Monday evening. Among the names was that of "William Carroll Simmons." It turned out that the Oldsmobile driven by "D.A.," as he is called, was registered in his brother's name. Later the use of a "tourist card issued in a false name" was to figure in the trial of the case.

D.A. Simmons told a straightforward story. He had driven to Monterrey on the night in question, at 60 miles an hour, but found the place dull. After spending Monday night in his car, he drove on to Saltillo. There he fell in with a bar companion; they picked up a couple of prostitutes.

On Wednesday the 14th he and his companion wandered on to Allende. There he registered in a hotel, apparently on impulse, under the name of Harry Hall. ("The Mexicans couldn't pronounce 'Dykes Askew Simmons' ".) He was now 300 miles from the scene of the crime, but he was only 50 miles, or an hour's drive, from the U.S. border.

Police located Simmons in Allende at 7 o'clock Thursday morning. They questioned him, and at first concluded he could not possibly be the right man. Simmons weighs about 165; he is 5 feet 10 inches tall; he has no gold teeth; his hair is dark brown. The police departed. Simmons could have fled for sanctuary in the United States. Instead, he went swimming. At 4 o'clock the police returned and put him under arrest.

The following afternoon Simmons was taken in police custody to Hilda's bedside. The girl was close to death; she was out of her head and could barely whisper. But according to the prosecutor, who put his ear close to her lips, she identified Simmons as the killer. His trial followed in March 1961 in the Penal Court of Nuevo Leon. He was found guilty and sentenced to death by firing squad. Various appeals were exhausted in November 1964, when the Mexican Supreme Court affirmed the conviction.

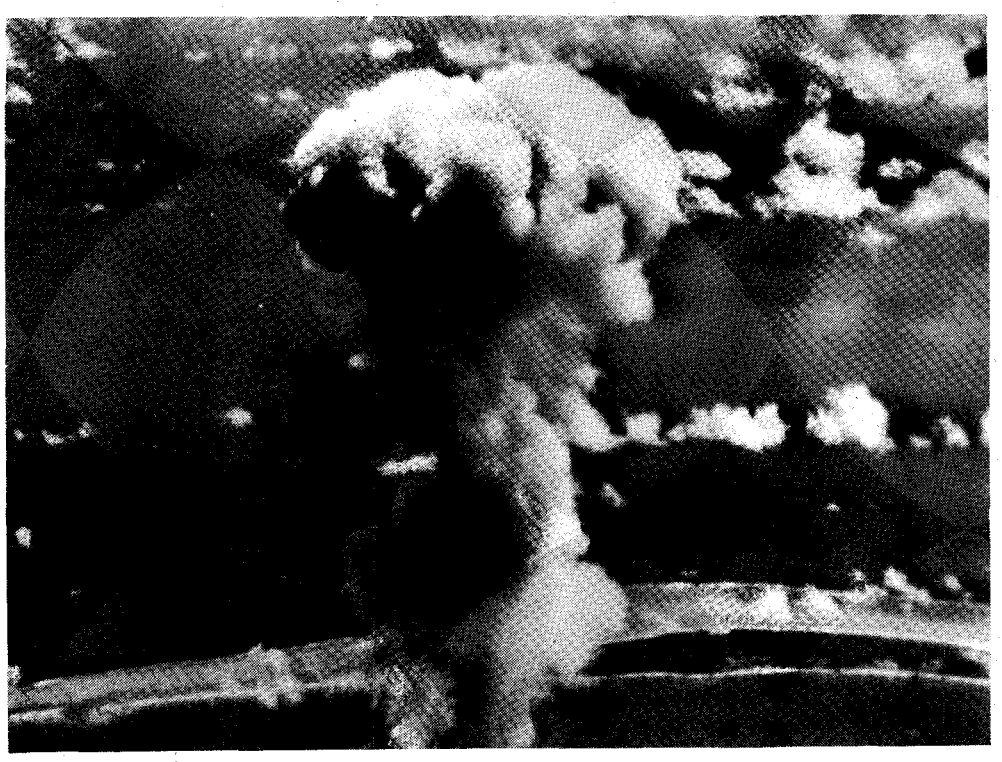
Except for Hilda's purported statement, which was thrown out on appeal, the evidence against Simmons was wholly circumstantial. No weapon was ever found. No fingerprints were taken from the Villagomez car. Testimony from the two prostitutes smelled of perjury. Simmons' conduct was consistent with innocence, not with guilt.

But he had entered Mexico under a false name; he had registered at Allende under a false name; he did have a white shirt and some dark trousers; a paraffin test (regarded by American criminologists as wholly unreliable) indicated that he might recently have fired a gun; and most impressively, Simmons had a record of conviction in Texas for burglary (1949) and car theft (1955). He had been five times a patient in mental hospitals; he had twice attempted escape from the Monterrey prison.

Such evidence would not have been sufficient for conviction in American courts. The Mexican authorities did not cling so firmly to the doctrine of reasonable doubt. Neither were they much interested in pursuing trails that might have led to an entirely different suspect, a psychotic Texas doctor arrested three weeks after the crime for running naked through an Indian village, shooting it up with a .22 rifle. But sentences of capital punishment seldom are executed in Monterrey, and Simmons remains in jail.

So the case stands now. Oregon's Sen. Wayne Morse, who is flatly convinced of Simmons' innocence, has interested himself in taking action that might result in clemency. He will hold hearings next year before a subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations. For Simmons the hearings can't come too soon. Under Mexican law his only hope is for release on parole in 1990. It is a long time for a man now 36 years old, already imprisoned seven years for a crime he insists he did not commit.

(Copyright 1966, Washington *Star* Syndicate)



The mushroom cloud may well be a familiar sight in arms testing among countries of the world, despite the efforts of the United Nations.

U.N. Test Ban Proposal Is Futile

From the San Diego *Union*

With a typical air of importance the United Nations has again passed a resolution urging an end to all major nuclear testing—above or below ground.

Like the other actions in this direction it has taken, the U.N. resolution unfortunately likely will become another recorded instance of futile rhetoric.

For looking back it is not an overstatement to say that only the United States of America is among the major nuclear powers that has indicated a reasonable willingness to limit or eliminate atomic explosions.

In 1946, for example, when the United States had a total monopoly on atomic weapons, it offered the Baruch Plan to put them under international control. The idea was rejected by other nations that had their own nuclear plans.

On Jan. 12, 1958, President Dwight D. Eisenhower took the initiative in seeking to conclude a test ban agreement by proposing it in a letter to Soviet Premier Nikolai Bulganin.

A voluntary suspension of atmospheric tests followed, which the United States observed scrupulously. The Russians broke the unwritten agreement with a series of tests in September. 1961.

The partial test ban treaty signed by the United States, England and Russia in 1963 has been scrupulously observed by the United States, even though we likely have lost valuable time for research and development of nuclear capabilities. Russia and England have generally observed the ban on atmospheric testing. It is, however, a different world today.

The first French atomic test occurred on Feb. 13, 1960, before the test ban treaty was signed. Yet France, then and now, refuses to participate in discussion to stop nuclear testing.

Communist China has exploded its fourth atomic device. It maintains aggression as a world goal and hostility as a foreign policy. There is no conceivable chance now that Red China will stop nuclear testing.

At least five other nations have the technology and possibly the resources to develop atomic military potential, including Japan, India, Sweden, the United Arab Republic and Pakistan.

The nuclear development by Red China poses the danger of at least some of these seeking to develop atomic arms regardless of world opinion or U.N. resolutions. The Middle East war can prompt others.

Perhaps the greatest futility of the U.N. resolution is revealed, however, in the fact it is aimed at nations that have to some extent co-operated. In the case of the United States, we have perhaps sought nuclear controls to the extent where we may have hurt national interests.

In the meantime, the nations that ignore world opinion will continue to do so in spite of the resolution and there is little the United Nations can do.

□ □ □

Prosperity Deception

By HOWARD KERSHNER

When the President said that wages had gone up 17 per cent from 1960 to the present, he was referring to hourly rates of pay per person. When he said that profits have gone up 83 per cent, he was referring to total profits and not profit per dollar of invested capital. The two things are not comparable. He should have used either hourly compensation for employes in comparison with profit-per-dollar of capital employed, or he should have used total compensation for all wage earners in comparison with total profits for all corporations.

In 1960, $562.5 billion of invested capital was working. In 1965 capital employed in our business undertakings had risen 34 per cent to $753.8 billion. In 1960 total compensation for employes in the United States was $293.6 billion, and in 1965 it had risen to $427.7 billion, or an increase of 45.6 per cent. Employe compensation rose 11.6 per cent more than invested capital.

During the period in question, hourly wage rates advanced 17 per cent, as the President said; invested capital per employe advanced 13.5 per cent; and total employe compensation advanced 45.6 per cent. During the same period, corporate profits after taxes rose about 100 per cent from $22 billion to $44 billion, but the rate of return per dollar of invested capital rose only 51 per cent, from a very inadequate figure of 3.9 per cent in 1960 to a very modest 5.9 per cent in 1965. How much smaller could return on capital be and still encourage saving?

□ □ □

CAMPAIGN PROMISE—New York Mayor John Lindsay, elected a year ago on the promise that he would slash city spending, is preparing another series of tax hikes, according to the New York *Daily News*. Reporter Dominick Peluso disclosed that Lindsay will sock New Yorkers with a "substantial hike in the income tax rate," plus other increases in "nuisance" levies.

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SEN. JOSEPH TYDINGS (D.-Md.) recently completed a nine-day junket across the USSR. He traveled as representative of the Senate Judiciary Committee on Improvement of Judiciary Machinery.

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University of California police drag away a protester during the recent disorders there. "Students" were demonstrating against the presence of a Navy recruiting team (see story at right).

Organized Anarchy at Berkeley

From the Chicago *Tribune*

On the Berkeley campus of the University of California, intransigent students (and nonstudents) again confront an irresolute administration.

Occasion for the present ruckus was the presence on the campus of a United States Navy recruiting team, which attracted an out-of-order mixed student and nonstudent team calling itself the Berkeley Draft Information Committee. The anti-recruiters, when requested by a campus policeman to remove themselves and their set-up, flopped on the floor shouting, "Navy must go!"

Then—more policemen, more demonstrators. More public appearances by Mario Savio, now a bartender, who in his student days was memorably noisy on the Berkeley campus and elsewhere. More calls for boycotts of classes. And, again, large numbers of students who respond to the call to "strike." Thousands of such students, supported by a bare majority of the student senate.

One of the protestors' picket signs read, "Rules for the students, not for the administration." What Berkeley firebrands actually want is "no rules for students" and an official welcome to any agitator from off campus. But of course there are and must be rules for everyone.

The presence of the Navy recruiters was within the rules. The presence of the anti-recruiters was not (and their claim to a status equal to that of representatives of the armed services of the United States is patently absurd). Organized attempts to force suspension of the teaching program of the university are against the rules.

If the University of California executives are equal to this latest challenge, they will apply firmly their disciplinary rules to students under their jurisdiction, and support vigorous, no-nonsense prosecution of off-campus troublemakers who break laws on the campus.

If Berkeley administrators had been unequivocally firm in discipline from the beginning of their siege by roughnecks, they might have got the necessary message over before now. That message is: Rules for everybody, and penalties for those who refuse to observe the rules.

Being a hanger-on or even an enrolled student at a university does not confer immunity to what is a universal principle binding in both physical and moral dimensions. The continued troubles of Berkeley executives who have flinched at applying the rules gives university administrators elsewhere a further object lesson in the consequences of failing to exercise proper authority.

The obligation to observe the rules as made by those authorized to define them and as the rules are interpreted by the courts applies to teachers, also—in Illinois, as well as in California.

Should George Lincoln Rockwell Be Invited to College Campuses?

By RUSSELL KIRK

An anti-Jewish freak, George Lincoln Rockwell, head of the tiny group of political madmen called the American Nazi party, is being invited to speak on college campuses. Most of the students and professors who invite him aren't admirers of his, but think that somehow they are champions of free speech when they give a public hearing to a venomous ideologue.

At an Ivy-League campus where I spoke recently, the student council had declined to sponsor a talk by Rockwell, so a special student group was formed to engage a hall for Rockwell. I know the students in question, who certainly aren't Nazi totalitarians: they simply believe that every point of view should be heard. A single appearance by Rockwell is not liable to cause much mischief; nevertheless, it makes the university into a kind of freak show, beneath the dignity of the Academy.

And at Grossmont College, in southern California, both some members of the faculty and a number of students have been endeavoring to intimidate the board of trustees into letting Rockwell address classes, if not a public forum. I think that the trustees are right, and the professors and students in question are misguided. "License they mean, when they cry liberty," as John Milton put it.

The general freedom to speak does not mean that those who do not wish to hear a fanatic are obliged to allow him to speechify on their property. No one is obliged to listen —or to lend his premises to a demagogue who delights in inciting to riot.

This commentator agrees with Judge Learned Hand's opinion that the public authorities should not restrict speech except when there exists a clear and present danger to the peace. But this principle does not compel the trustees of a college to provide a classroom or an auditorium, at their own expense, for every troublemaker. A college is supposed to be a center of the higher learning, not Hyde Park Corner or Pershing Square.

And who can say with sureness that racialist demagogues like Rockwell, or Stokely Carmichael, are not a clear and present danger, in these times of riot and crime?

Such gentry would become a very real danger indeed, should—as is quite possible—this country experience a serious military reverse or a grave economic depression. Would it have been well for the German universities, in the '20s to have sponsored Hitler's harangues in the name of free speech?

Hilaire Belloc called the fanatic ideologues of our time "the barbarians." This passage of his is worth repeating:

"We sit by and watch the Barbarian, we tolerate him; in the long stretches of peace we are not afraid.

"We are tickled by his irreverence, his comic inversion of our old certitudes and our fixed creeds refreshes us; we laugh. But as we laugh we are watched by large and awful faces from beyond; and on those faces there is no smile."

Rockwell and his kind really aren't funny—or instructive.

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HAIPHONG BLOCKADE—Military affairs expert Richard Fryklund reported that Defense Secretary McNamara and President Johnson have vetoed plans of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to mine or bomb the key North Vietnamese port of Haiphong. The Administration opposes action against Haiphong because it would result in the destruction of Communist-bloc ships, Fryklund said. Russia and the Red-bloc nations are viewed by the United States as moderating influences on Hanoi. "Under these circumstances," Fryklund wrote, "it would be poor diplomacy to destroy Iron Curtain ships."

□ □ □

NEGRO LEADERS in California have announced they are seriously considering support for a state right-to-work law. "The benefits of a right-to-work law are seriously worth considering," Dr. Carlton B. Goodlet, prominent Negro publisher, said recently. "The Negro community has heard a lot of pious declarations from union leaders. But the rank and file of organized labor have clearly been voting to perpetuate racial discrimination."

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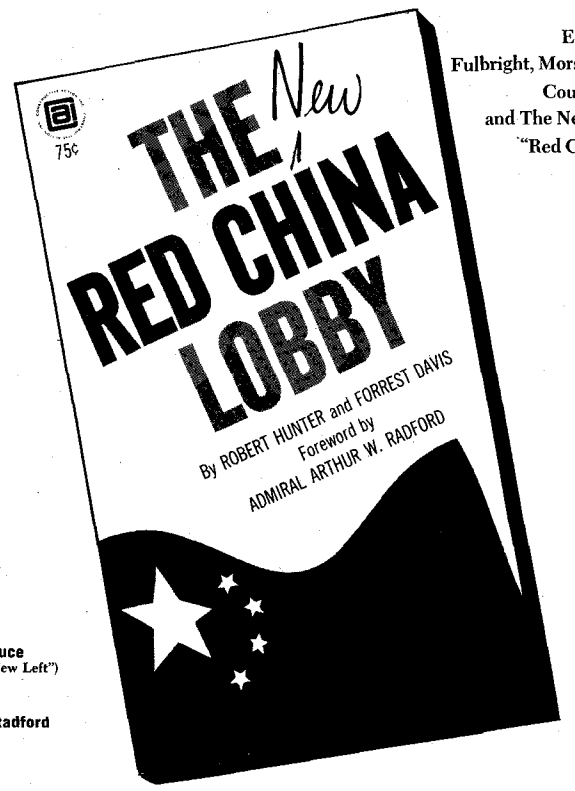

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Edited by
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Pearl Harbor: Appearances vs. Realities

From the Chicago *Tribune*

Last Wednesday was the 25th anniversary of a date which Franklin Roosevelt said "will live in infamy." On Dec. 7, 1941, Japanese carrier planes achieved complete surprise in a damaging attack on the Pacific fleet at Pearl Harbor. By that act, the United States entered World War II—a war which had been in progress in Europe for 27 months, and, in its Asiatic manifestation, for 53 months.

The perplexities of Franklin Roosevelt in 1941, as war bubbled around him on two continents, were many. He itched to be in the brawl. He had submitted himself for a third term, however, on the pledge that the United States would not go to war "except in case of attack." The American people had little enthusiasm for the adventure, and Congress was hostile.

To make any war palatable to Americans, their political leaders, who get them into war, must promise them some great fulfillment.

Woodrow Wilson, for example, represented World War I as "a war to end war." The League of Nations was his vehicle for achieving a peaceful concert of nations. The refusal of the Senate of the United States to adhere to the league except under reservations which Wilson considered unacceptable accounted for the frustration of those who became the chief prophets of the great goals to be accomplished by American intervention in World War II.

Whatever their several motives for desiring war, their vision of the outcome was the same as before—a new and moral world order founded on international organization. Mr. Roosevelt fed hope to these true believers with his "four freedoms," the Atlantic Charter ("a wider and permanent system of general security"), and other stately and pious pronouncements.

He achieved a neatly balanced effect by presenting an alarming picture of America's peril as the result of supposed designs harbored by Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito, while promising, at the same time, "again and again and again: Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars."

Robert E. Sherwood, presidential speech writer and editor of the posthumous papers of Harry Hopkins, confesses the pledge was a fake: "any risk of future embarrassment," said he, "was negligible as compared with the risk of losing the election." In other words, Roosevelt's decision for war had long since been made.

By the State Department's own account, Roosevelt and his secretary of state, through the decade of the '30s, "differed" from "much of public opinion," in that they "early" became convinced of the necessity of "endeavoring to check the march of Axis aggression."

In 1940 and 1941, Mr. Roosevelt was busily fishing in the Atlantic for an "incident," but Hitler would not oblige him. Adm. Nomura, the Japanese ambassador, perceived that the Pacific might provide a "back door" to war. Acting on the same premise, Mr. Roosevelt early in 1941 sent his military agents to staff conversations in Washington and Singapore, where they assumed secret commitments to the British and Dutch in the Pacific. These were approved by the President, as his chief of naval operations observed, "except officially"—i.e., his name wasn't going to be on the contract.

The agreements laid down lines of interdiction against Japanese advance. Once these were crossed, the United States was to fight, even in the absence of a direct attack upon United States territory. This condition arrived at 10:40 a. m. on Dec. 6, 1941, when Japanese convoys rounded Cambodia Point and headed west into the Gulf of Siam. What Secretary of Labor Perkins called Mr. Roosevelt's "terrible moral problem" was now acute.

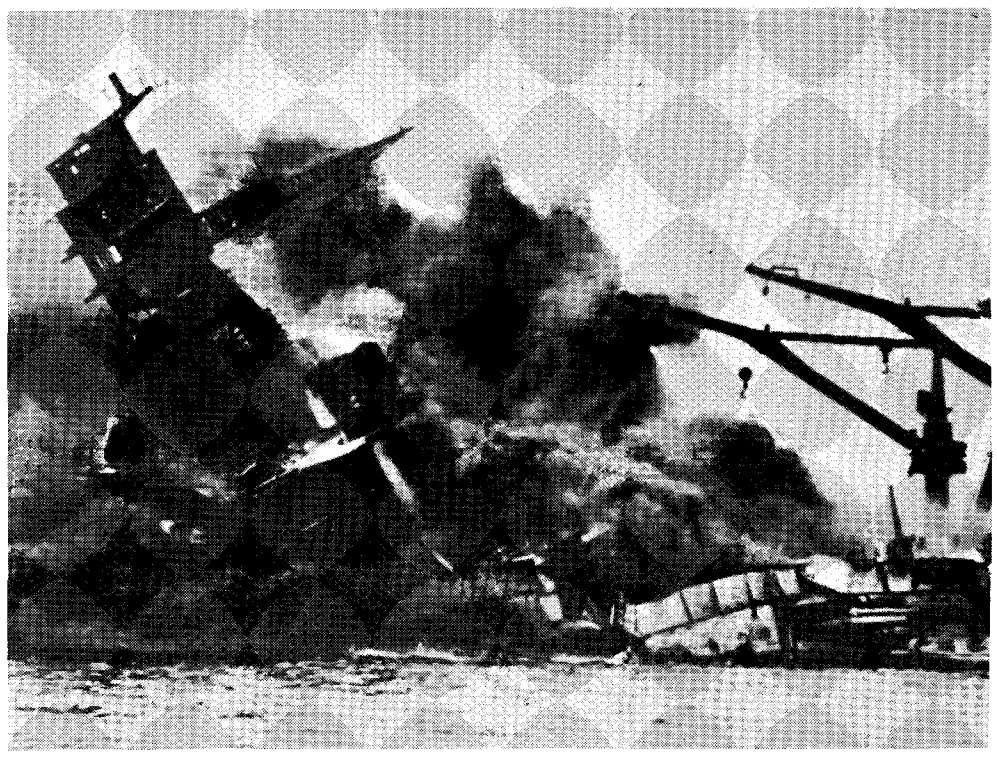
Mindful of his campaign pledges, he had repeatedly warned American forces that Japan must commit "the first overt act." Yet he had to deliver on his commitments to his unacknowledged allies or be deemed a shirker. On the other hand, only Congress, under the Constitution, could declare war, and there was the companion dilemma of "how to move American public opinion."

The attack on Pearl Harbor less than 27 hours later took Mr. Roosevelt and his associates off the hook. As Secretary of War Stimson remarked, "Now the Japanese have solved the whole thing by attacking us directly in Hawaii." Prime Minister Churchill duly noted that "the President and his trusted friends . . . had long writhed under the restraints of Congress [and] a Japanese attack upon the United States was a vast simplification of their problem and their duty."

Mr. Stimson remarked of the attack that he was "not surprised." Nor need he have been, for he had described the method: "The question was how we should maneuver them [the Japanese] into the position of firing the first shot without allowing too much danger to ourselves." And Jonathan Daniels, White House administrative assistant, later remarked of Roosevelt, "The blow [at Pearl Harbor] was heavier than he

President Roosevelt is accused of causing the circumstances leading to the Pearl Harbor attack, in which more than 3,000 Americans were casualties.

Rear Adm. Husband E. Kimmel (Ret.), who commanded the Pacific fleet at Pearl Harbor, was made the scapegoat of the disaster.



The USS Arizona goes down Dec. 7, 1941, one of five battleships sunk in the Japanese attack (three were later salvaged). Today the Arizona rests where she sank; more than 1,000 men are still entombed in the ship, now a war memorial.

hoped that it would necessarily be. . . . But the risks paid off; even the loss was worth the price. . . ."

If Mr. Roosevelt had "hoped" for a "blow," on what grounds did he hope? On the very simple one that, having framed a policy of putting Japan through the diplomatic wringer and stonily rebuffing every diplomatic overture, he was pleasantly privileged to sit back and watch the Japanese writhe. For, by a stroke of genius by our code-breaking experts, Washington for 17 months had an ear cocked to Japanese calculations and intentions.

The priceless information obtained through the cracking of the Japanese diplomatic code, known as "Purple," as well as other diplomatic, consular and fleet codes, was not relayed to the commanders in the theaters. The high authorities who contained this information within their circle assumed, in consequence, responsibility to act upon the information promptly and effectively. This they did not do. Such warnings as they addressed to the field were muddy, misleading, deficient, or too late.

In *Pearl Harbor: Warning and Decision,* Mrs. Roberta Wohlstetter, though largely an apologist for the Washington group, concedes that the Japanese signals read by Roosevelt and his circle were "obviously explicable . . . in terms of the Japanese attack." She terms it "incredible in retrospect that they were not so interpreted."

The crisis of December 1941, she says, "seemed painfully obvious to Washington"; there were signals "which seem to stand out and scream of the impending catastrophe"; there were "very obvious clues to a direct Japanese attack upon the United States," and Washington's "inability to predict such an attack can easily be made to look like gross stupidity or negligence or a conspiracy to conceal vital information."

But this is a judgment from which she resolutely turns. The denial of information to the field commanders, she maintains, "*need not* be explained by a conspiracy of silence." To interpret the "screaming" messages of disaster now as they should have been read in 1941 by those who had assumed the responsibility is, she says, "hindsight"—an apologia not unfamiliar in this context.

Yet some of the principal actors have signified that meanings were not lost upon them at the time they read the signals. The first 13 parts of the final Japanese reply to the United States were distributed the night of December 6, and President Roosevelt read from the message something of so startling a character that he exclaimed, "This means war!"

Mr. Roosevelt did nothing. Similarly, Secretary of State Hull professed ability to interpret a key Japanese secret communication announcing that, after November 28, "things are automatically going to happen." His judgment was: "After that, war. The sword of Damocles which hung over our heads was therefore attached to a clockwork set to the hour."

Yet when the Japanese ambassadors were directed to present their government's final reply to Hull at 1 p. m. Sunday, December 7, nobody did anything about the clockwork triggered to the exact hour. Nothing was done—

Even though the significance of 1 p.m. in Washington was pointed out to Hull and others in terms of daybreak at Oahu—the optimum hour for surprise air attack.

Even though, in all Japanese wars of modern times, the severance of diplomatic relations had been timed to coincide with the outbreak of hostilities, and this, in turn, was inaugurated by a surprise attack on the enemy fleet.

And even though the voluminous spy messages to Tokyo plotting the moorings of the Pacific fleet (with directions to Honolulu to report in the final days "even when there are no movements") were inescapable reminders that "the invaluable fleet" was composed of sitting ducks – a "deterrent" to Japan, so Roosevelt and others professed to think; a target, in the estimation of perceptive American officers, and the Japanese.

"I may never declare war," Roosevelt said; "I may make war. If I were to ask Congress to declare war, they might argue about it for three months."

Such are the appearances and realities of the "date which will live in infamy."

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Some Election Afterthoughts

By MORRIE RYSKIND

After even our bitterest political campaigns, once the election is over we have traditionally declared a truce until after the New Year. And I had hoped, during this peaceful interlude, to use this column for some profound but noncontroversial observations on Culture, Trading Stamps, and What Will the Dodgers Do Without Koufax, subjects all dear to the American heart.

But alas! This time the extremists in both camps display more intransigence than the Viet Cong, and I fear there's no rest for the weary. Liberal Democrats are so used to winning that they have altogether forgotten the art of losing gracefully, and continue to hurl Molotov cocktails, while their counterparts in the GOP have taken a leaf from U.S. foreign policy and are fully prepared to yield at the conference table all they won in the field.

Pat Brown is one of the few losers who has shown any willingness to give as well as take. He has promised Gov.-elect Reagan both that he would give him his full support and at the same time keep a watchful eye on him.

Outgoing Gov. Pat Brown has already made some 50 lame duck appointments.

In maintenance of this pledge, Pat has been making some 50 lame duck appointments of deserving Democrats who may be counted on to watch the new governor, but has considerately included one Republican, a municipal court judge, whom he has raised to a $30,000 post as a member of the California District Court of Appeals. That the judge happens to be Pat's brother is undoubtedly just a happy coincidence.

Incidentally, one California pollster has come up with an intriguing explanation of why his final poll, published the day before election, failed to predict the extent of the Republican sweep here and even made a bad guess on some key races.

It was, he says, the undecided voters—those who answer "I don't know" to the questioner—who were responsible. There they were on the fence till the very last minute, droves of them apparently, when suddenly they all rushed to the polls like lemmings and voted Republican.

I'm glad to have this cleared up, so that now I can read the pollsters more intelligently. These boys get to only a handful of people and a more accurate record of their sampling would go something like this:

Reagan 771
Brown 729
Don't know 6,421,823

And the thing to remember is that it is the pollsters who don't know, not the voters. The computers are infallible, but they can't give better information than they get.

A note from an Indianapolis reader who served as election judge illustrates what may happen when voters don't play ball with the machine. Her district, she reports, went Republican for the first time in some 16 years, and two union leaders were completely dumbfounded by the tabulation. They had come early to make sure all their eligible members had voted, but the latter had apparently not obeyed orders. "We don't understand it," they moaned.

I have a veritable avalanche of letters from angered conservatives who dispute the objective analysis of the liberal commentators who find the election a clarion call for the nomination of Romney by the GOP in 1968.

Indeed, to hear these worthies tell it in the communications media, you would think that was what we had been voting on. And you might feel that LBJ and Hubert (who was acting President for almost two hours) ought to do the decent thing and resign and let Romney and Javits be sworn in in their stead.

Yet last year many of these same people—who had not voted GOP since McKinley, if then—were whooping it up for New York's Lindsay as the Moses who would lead the Republicans out of the wilderness.

My own observation is that most Republicans are currently busy deciding what to get Aunt Nellie for Christmas and haven't given a thought to 1968. So when even Dr. Gallup comes up with Romney 34, Nixon 22, Reagan 13, etc., remember the GOP "don't knows" still lead the roost by some 35 million or so.

Let's take one election at a time. Unless, of course, you're ready to substitute the computers for people. And I thought that was precisely what we had just voted overwhelmingly against.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL, ultra-militant head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, recently urged residents of Watts, Los Angeles' Negro ghetto, to unite against "the white man's government." Carmichael, who has repeatedly proclaimed his defiance of the Selective Service System, addressed a rally of several thousand persons in Watts. He was surrounded by "Black Congress" bodyguards.

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EXPENSIVE VOTES—New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller admits spending $4.9 million to win a third term last month. In a report filed at Albany, Rocky revealed that he outspent Democrat Frank O'Conner by 9 to 1. The Conservative party, which polled a surprising 500,000 votes, spent but $58,000 in its campaign. Liberal Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., who barely topped Conservative Paul Adams, spent more than four times that amount.

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RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION—The myth of a "mellowing" Soviet Union was further shattered recently by jail sentences meted out to members of a Baptist sect. Tass, the Soviet news agency, said that three female members of the Evangelical Christian Baptists had been sentenced to a labor camp for teaching children the tenets of their religion. The sentence followed a series of arrests of church-goers throughout the USSR.

BOOK NOTES

A Book-By-Mail Service For HUMAN EVENTS Readers

That we take note of a book here does not necessarily mean we fully endorse it, nor even that it is written from a conservative viewpoint. It means merely that we regard it as one which may have an impact on political thinking, and accordingly may be of interest to our readers.

THE EDITORS

MEN AND MOMENTS by Henry J. Taylor (Random House, 208 pages, $4.95).

A survey of a cross-section of its readers taken by **Human Events** not long ago found Henry J. Taylor high on the list of best-liked columnists. A one-time overseas correspondent, radio commentator and businessman, who for five years was Ike's ambassador to Switzerland, Mr. Taylor since 1961 has written a widely syndicated public affairs column. This volume contains 46 of these articles, selected because of the enduring nature of their subject matter.

We could offer no better recommendation than to quote from **Editor and Publisher's** review of the book: "Ninety-five per cent of the Taylor columns deal with contemporary news themes. From the 5 per cent that are timeless was formed this memorable collection. . . . Judgment is the rare quality most prized and sought—and often acquired—by Henry J. Taylor, to the lasting benefit and enjoyment of his millions of readers."

THE JEWS OF SILENCE by Elie Wiesel (Holt, 143 pages, $4.95).

"Mr. Wiesel, a novelist and Israeli correspondent in this country, went to the Soviet Union last year and made a pilgrimage. . . . He traveled from city to city, visiting synagogues, talking to Jews wherever he could find them, making in effect a one-man survey of the condition of Soviet Jewry. It is a most valuable contribution to our knowledge of this subject. . . .

"The pervasive fear he found among Soviet Jews had been there 10 years priorly too. So had been the Jewish overseers in the synagogues. Working for the Soviet secret police, as other Jews before them worked for the German Gestapo, they are frantic to prevent any free contact between synagogue worshipers and visiting foreign co-religionists."

—From **Saturday Review**

ATTACK BY MAIL by Edward Hunter (Bookmailer, 252 pages, $5).

A few months after assuming office, President John F. Kennedy issued a curious memorandum. It instructed the Bureau of Customs and Post Office Department to discontinue a long-standing practice of intercepting Communist propaganda mail from abroad. "Not only has the intelligence value of the program been found to be of no usefulness," the memorandum declared, "but the program also has been of concern to the secretary of state in connection with efforts to improve cultural exchanges with Communist countries." Without ever being published as an Executive Order in the **Federal Register** as the law prescribes, this memorandum itself, in effect, became law, a startling procedure for a nation accustomed to constitutional processes.

Mr. Hunter's investigation of this memorandum revealed that the President had been counseled to take this particular position on propaganda mail by an **ad hoc** committee of the National Security Council, one of whose members, John F. Reilly, was later kicked upstairs to the State Department. It was Reilly who gave false testimony to a Senate subcommittee in the Otepka case.

The Kennedy memorandum broke down one of the last restraints on the use of the mails by Communist governments to intimidate refugees and achieve propaganda goals. The Communist nations which send out this mail do not, of course, reciprocate in kind and allow their postal systems to carry our propaganda material. After all, they reason, "cultural exchanges" can be carried too far.

Mr. Hunter, a skilled reporter and writer who will be remembered for "Brainwashing, from Pavlov to Powers," his classic study of Communist psychological warfare, has, in the present volume, delved deeply into the unbelievable Communist exploitation of our postal policies.

INQUEST by Edward Epstein (Viking, 224 pages, $5).

RUSH TO JUDGMENT by Mark Lane (Holt, 478 pages, $5.95).

WHITEWASH by Harold Weisberg (Weisberg, 208 pages, $4.94).

No subject has gained more attention in recent weeks than whether or not the Warren Commission Report proved its primary thesis: that Lee Harvey Oswald, acting alone, assassinated President Kennedy. The debate rages over the "acting alone" clause and will undoubtedly continue until satisfactory answers are provided to the frustrating questions raised by the commission's critics. But those answers cannot be provided until the autopsy photographs—hitherto unseen by human eye—are available to resolve questions such as the position of the wound in Kennedy's back.

Mr. Epstein's book is the scholarly but readable product of a first-rate mind. It probes with unimpassioned objectivity into the functioning of the commission, and is largely based upon interviews with its staff.

Mark Lane will be remembered as an attorney holding impeccable left-wing credentials who was retained by Oswald's mother. Lane's book is the closest thing we have to a **pro forma** brief in Oswald's defense, and it brings into public view considerable information which was either overlooked or neglected by the commission. Lane's is in many ways a useful book, but draws from the amassed evidence a conclusion which that evidence does not at all support: that Oswald was an instrument of the American Right.

Whitewash is the privately published polemic of an angry man. Mr. Weisberg is outraged by the self-contradictions of the Warren Report, and his emotion permeates every paragraph. He nevertheless has assembled a good deal of persuasive criticism not touched by Lane or Epstein, and is a helpful, but emotion-charged position paper for those who have already been exposed to Lane's or Epstein's books.

ON THE EDGE OF THE VOLCANO by Joseph Pesti (Jarman Press, Box 590, Charlottesville, Va., 222 pages, $6.50. Order directly from publisher.)

The author is a Hungarian poet and educator who fled from his country in 1956 in the wake of the Revolution. This book of poems is calculated, in the author's words, to explain "man's life and death struggle against communism" and to show "the Free World what awaits them if they do not awaken."

The 236 poems which comprise this volume were written while the author still suffered under Communist oppression.

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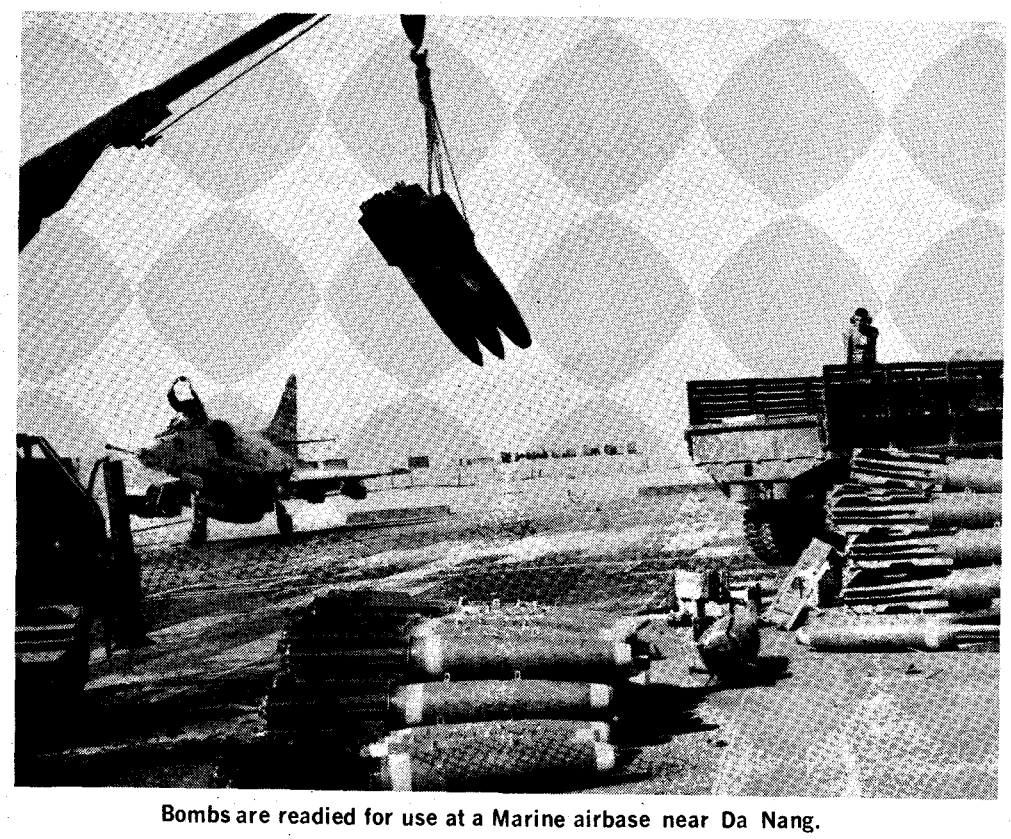

Bombs are readied for use at a Marine airbase near Da Nang.

Kraft on Viet Nam

A Liberal Opens One Eye

From the Indianapolis *Star*

Columnist Joseph Kraft says that he and other critics of the Administration's stand on Viet Nam have been wrong in one respect.

"We have been wrong," he thinks, "in assuming that deeper American engagement in Viet Nam would generate serious risk of resistance from the Communist powers, and isolation from this country's allies."

This is what the *Star* has been saying all along. We have said time and again that neither Red China nor Red Russia has any idea of getting directly involved in Viet Nam. Russia dares not risk direct war with the United States. China simply has not the power to do so, and at the same time would risk complete loss of its atomic weapons before they have become operative. In addition, China is in the throes of immense unrest and disillusion with communism.

The liberals have claimed again and again that we must not "escalate" the war in Viet Nam in order to win it for fear that it might bring on an atomic holocaust. But they never seem to believe that Russia and China have far more to fear from all-out world war than the United States. We have, and we have had all along, enough power to wipe out Russian cities and armies and to reduce Red China to a pasture.

Kraft has finally discovered this. He now says that the United States is "the world's only superpower." He adds, "No outsider, whether friend or foe, is likely to impose serious barriers against America in Viet Nam. We are on our own."

But the funny thing is that Kraft thinks this is awful! The fact that the United States, his country, the greatest free nation on earth, the only real barrier to the eventual communization of the world by force, is the strongest nation on earth by far is to him a "melancholy conclusion" because American leadership does not "make wise use of power" —does not have "the qualities of restraint, of patience, of modesty."

It is hard to believe that this is an American talking. How can he believe that the United States is a threat to peace when here we are with the most powerful military force ever assembled on earth and we have not made full use of it against an enemy sworn to destroy us when he gets a chance?

Suppose Soviet Russia or Red China possessed this power! Does anyone doubt that they would use it to carry out their plans to impose world communism everywhere? Does Kraft think that the Soviet leaders possess the "qualities of restraint, of patience, of modesty" to a greater degree than the United States leaders? Does he think de Gaulle does? Mao Tse-tung?

It is amazing to us that so many liberals distrust their own country more than they do others, that they cannot see that only the United States can save and has saved the world from the plight of Eastern Europe and Communist China.

But at least Kraft has made *some* progress. He now agrees with us that the United States is the most powerful nation on earth. Maybe, if he takes some more trips abroad and talks to some more Communist leaders, he will come to be glad his country is strong enough to defend itself and the free world.

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LT. GEN. IRA C. EAKER, a military columnist for General Features, says when Defense Secretary McNamara announced at a press conference on November 4, in the presence of LBJ, "that draft calls would be reduced, that weapons production would be cut back and that air operations would not exceed present levels, all experienced military men were astounded. I would not have been more astonished had Secretary of War Stimson, with President Roosevelt's approval, told the Nazis in 1944, where, when and with what force Eisenhower would launch the invasion of Europe . . . . Westmoreland faces insuperable odds so long as our defense secretary tells the opposition what he holds."

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End of the Test Ban Treaty?

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

There is informed speculation among nuclear insiders that the test ban treaty of 1963 may not last much longer.

One unquotable spokesman has guessed for this reporter that the Russians soon may take advantage of the 90-day abrogation clause and withdraw from the treaty "without making us mad." The Soviets could do this on the pretext that Red China has moved into nuclear missilery much faster than the nuclear club membership believed to be possible. The Chinese have now detonated four weapons, so that both the USSR and the U.S.A. are forced to acknowledge that they have a potential rival.

Denizens of the tight little cosmos of nuclear knowledge are a mixed population of high-level policy makers, low-level One Worlders, trigger-conscious military men, awed scientists and watchful members of Congress.

You can knock at almost any door and come away with different sets of cautious answers and blood-curdling suspicions. But if there is a consensus within the nuclear cosmos, it would express the brevity of life expectancy in the test ban treaty.

There are those who look upon our era as an interval between steps which must take us to expanded treaties—perhaps to ban proliferation, perhaps to ban all thermonuclear weapons development. Others regard the test ban as foredoomed by its own inpracticality, considering that China and France did not sign it, and considering that no political arrangements can be made to halt the surging tides of scientific curiosity. But the consensus, a compound of wishfulness and worldly wisdom, adds up to say that we cannot loiter around on the assumption that the test ban has much staying power.

Government officials are in a quandary about it. What should be the public information policy on nuclear affairs? The question is compounded by a greater amount of ignorance than officials care to confess.

Examples: We were caught by surprise when the Russians broke the moratorium and set off multi-megaton blasts in the atmosphere in 1961, and when it turned out that the Chinese recently have been using uranium instead of plutonium for explosives. We do not, as of today, know the magnitude of the Soviet underground blast in October, for it was 5,000 miles away and seismographic instruments do not tell whether it was fired in solid rock or loose sandy soil.

Only by examining the debris—which is available in above-ground shots, but not in underground testing—can we keep informed of enemy capability. An authoritative spokesman said this about nuclear information:

"We don't want to make the enemy look 10 feet tall, and we don't want to underestimate, either. There is so much plus-and-minus in our estimates that the less we say the better."

Another problem, seldom noised about, is the difficulty in recruiting young post-graduate scientists for the laboratories that are run by the Atomic Energy Commission and the Department of Defense. This difficulty, I am told, is being coped with, and substantial advances in defensive-offensive weaponry design have been made in the past three years. But there was an exodus of experienced scientists from nuclear activity when the treaty was signed, and the climate of opinion at the universities does not favor a young man seeking his future in nuclear weapons.

With the Russians blasting underground and the Chinese shooting overhead, with a Pentagon debate in progress on whether to emphasize offense or defense, these winds of change in the intellectual centers do not help the American cause.

Neither, it would seem, does the policy of minimum nuclear information help very much at this time when the test ban treaty might be nearing its end.

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

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"CRIME RATES in the United States will drop when the criminal is convinced that his arrest will be swift, his prosecution prompt and his sentence substantial. Is today's criminal certain that all, or even one, of these conditions exist? Certainly not. For example, a masked criminal recently fled from a bank with several thousand dollars but was quickly arrested by local police and the money recovered. Although he admitted the crime and was indicted, all charges were dismissed on recommendations of parole officials. Consequently, today's criminal is convinced that an apathetic, uncooperative public will delay his arrest; that new court decisions will postpone or prevent his prosecution; and that through unjustified leniency, his sentence will be negligible. And all the while, apologists under various professional disguises will relieve his conscience of guilt and blame society for his actions."—J. Edgar Hoover, director, FBI

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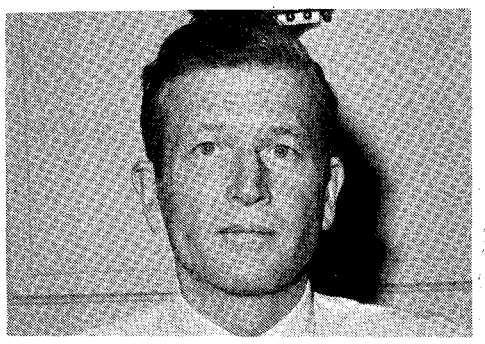
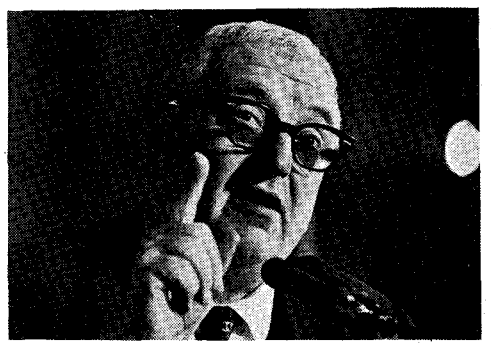
Expensive Talk from Lindsay, Golden and Kennedy

By ALICE WIDENER



New York's Mayor John Lindsay emphasizes environment as the principal factor in our society.



Author Harry Golden urged Congress to enact a $100 billion "Marshall Plan" to compensate Negroes for past wrongs.

Sen. Robert F. Kennedy (D.-N.Y.) has suggested a civilian Saigon government that would negotiate with the Viet Cong.

Talk is cheap, but the kind of talk indulged in by some prominent politicians and intellectuals today can prove to be very expensive in anarchy at home and defeatism abroad.

Mayor John Lindsay of New York City recently went to Princeton University, where he told a student group that rebellious Berkeleyites and slum-trapped Negro youth have basically the same problem—"powerlessness in the face of huge authoritarian institutions."

The Lindsay statement puts all the social emphasis on environment as the determining factor in our society. The mayor's attitude is characteristic of that adopted today by many public officials who were born and grew up rich. Never having had to struggle up from an adverse environment into a favorable one, they regard environment as an unconquerable enemy. Fortunately, however, there are millions of American men and women belonging to all races who overcame the handicap of very poor childhood and became well-educated, self-supporting, prosperous members of the community.

As far as our huge institutions are concerned, let us acknowledge that ours is a huge country with a population in excess of 190 million. What is wrong about authority? Can any institution, big or small, be run without it? Is discipline to be discarded as undesirable authoritarianism? Every professional knows, for example, that authority and discipline in the opera house, theater or press are as stringent in many ways as in the armed forces. The exigencies of "the show must go on" require authoritarian control by a stage director, symphony conductor or newspaper editor. These exigencies are essential to good performance and extend to almost all human endeavors.

While Mayor Lindsay was holding forth at Princeton, writer Harry Golden was spilling words in Congress where he indulged in sheer demagoguery by urging a $100-billion Marshall Plan to "compensate" American Negroes for centuries of slavery and deprivation. It is impossible for a part of one generation of human beings to compensate another part for long past injustices.

Properly to judge both crimes and benefactions in history, it is necessary to put them in their contemporary framework. Can Turks today compensate Armenians for past massacres? Can Arabs today compensate Africans for centuries of slave-trading in Africa? Can Russians today compensate Jews for past pogroms? These questions do not condone past or present crimes or injustices. But we should remember what Jesus said, "For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you; but if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses."

A third instance of expensive talk occurred when Sen. Robert F. Kennedy was interviewed recently by Richard Starnes of the *World Journal Tribune.* Sen. Kennedy said about the war in Viet Nam, "The first step has to be a civilian government in Saigon, one that will negotiate with the Viet Cong." This was an open call for overthrow of the Ky government which, only a short time ago, won the free elections held in South Viet Nam. These elections, held in the midst of war at the insistence of American liberals, brought results that were different from those they expected. Should these results in favor of Marshal Ky be now ignored?

For Sen. Kennedy to propose as a first step toward peace in Viet Nam that the long-suffering South Vietnamese negotiate with their deadly enemies, the Viet Cong, is a grave injury to our fighting forces there who are forfeiting their lives to combat the Viet Cong.

Why doesn't Sen. Kennedy propose that as a first step the North Vietnamese change their form of government to a representational one instead of an aggressive Red dictatorship? Then the North Vietnamese could negotiate with their brethren in the south for the peaceful unification of the nation.

More than ever in our troubled times it seems words are deeds, especially the words spoken by prominent, influential persons. We need to weigh our words carefully, for extravagant ones can be much too expensive in anarchy and defeat.

(U.S.A. Syndicate)

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CHICAGO CRIME—Orlando W. Wilson, Chicago's highly respected superintendent of police, says his police department has been able to document the fact that the 7.8 per cent cumulative increase in the city's crime statistics this year is traceable to the civil rights demonstrations that swept the Windy City this summer.

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BERKELEY AIDS VIET CONG—An Oklahoma marine has written his parents from Viet Nam that boxes of medical supplies and blood plasma labeled "Berkeley, Calif.," were recently found in a Viet Cong encampment. The marine said such shipments helped keep the enemy in the field and were hurting troop morale. "This makes us all want to sit down and cry," he wrote.

U.S. Actions to Blame For Strange German Moves

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

Some 14 years ago the American people, badly shaken by Truman's dismissal of MacArthur and his refusal to liberate North Korea, elected a Republican President who promised to "roll back" communism and liberate its victims.

He did not liberate a single people. Red China and Red Russia are still promoting aggression everywhere they can.

Almost worse, the United States and France are engaged in a contest for the Kremlin's favor, the victims of which are the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and, in particular, Germany. In Paris and elsewhere, Soviet co-boss Kosygin, oblivious to Stalin's part in starting World War II and grabbing half of Poland and the Baltic States, has the nerve to announce that Russia will forever hinder Germany's reunification and its access to nuclear weapons.

And what does Washington do? Instead of telling the Russians to take a deep dive into the Moskva River (or preferably, into the Neva River at Leningrad – deeper and colder), it continues to talk of "building bridges" to those who would destroy us.

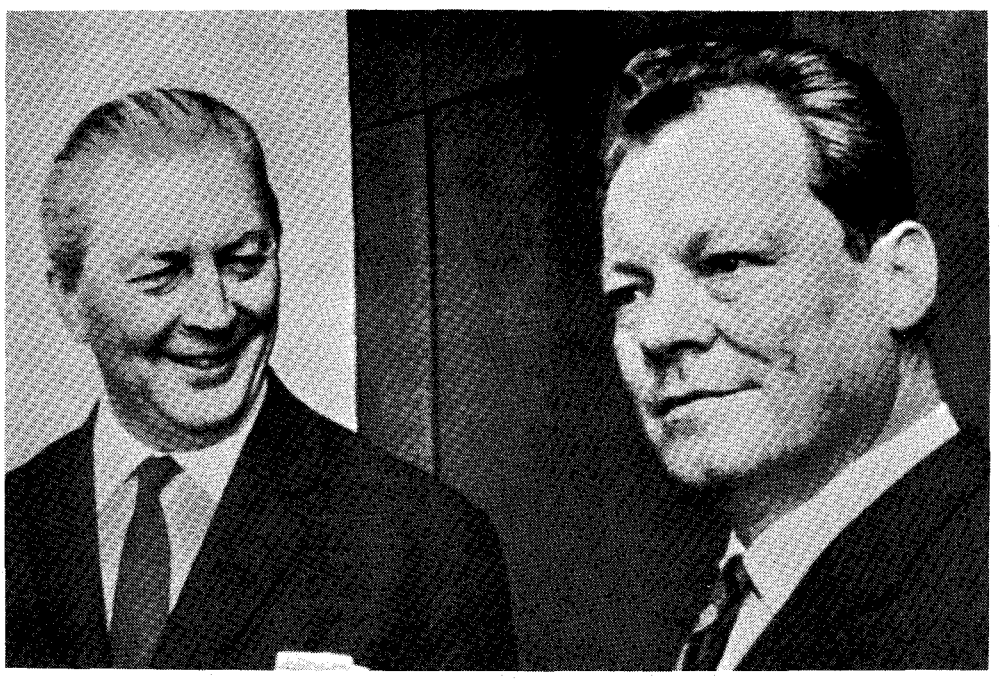
For the Germans this has been a double shock. Ten years ago the German Federal Republic enjoyed the support of the United States.

In the early '60s West Germany enjoyed a close alliance with France. NATO was still a going concern, the envy and terror of the Russians, the European Common Market was proving a boon to all its members, and there seemed to be a hope of a permanent Atlantic community able to impose its will upon the Communist world.

Of that hope little is left. France would accept such a community only if composed of two equal partners, the United States and West Europe. Neither Eisenhower nor Kennedy was prepared to share political and nuclear power with Europe. So Charles de Gaulle embarked upon his alternative policy of "Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals," which would include the Soviet Europe. Without exactly excluding German reunification, he made its realization dependent upon Germany's permanent acceptance of an inferior situation within it.

"Pugwashed" New Frontiersmen in Washington also sought peace and cooperation with Moscow. German reunification could wait.

It has taken the Germans a little time to realize their partial abandonment by both allies. They have finally reacted by forming a Great Coalition of Christian Democrats and Social Democrats to see what can be saved. And unhappily, it seems to me, they picked as chancellor a man upon whom, despite his innocence (I have read the decision of the de-Nazification court of Scheinfeld), Russians, other foreign anti-Germans and German Communists could pin the label of "former Nazi."



Kurt Georg Kiesinger (left), Bonn's new chancellor, meets with Socialist Willy Brandt, who is now the No. 2 man in Germany.

What then can this Kiesinger-Willy Brandt coalition accomplish? Certainly, it will cling to the presence of American troops in Germany with all the strength it possesses. At the same time it will seek to brighten the tarnished friendship with France—no easy task unless West Germany renounces dependence upon the United States.

Both parties favor Britain's entrance into the Common Market, and the sooner the better. Willy nilly, and against the opposition of the Adenauer Christian Democrats, the new government will follow both Washington and Paris in seeking closer diplomatic, cultural and trade relations with the Communist countries of East Europe, even with East Germany. For the rest, its composition may well condemn it to immobility.

And then? All these moves beg the central issue—the reunification of Germany. Both the United States and France favor this in theory. But since both subordinate it to relaxed tensions with the Soviet Union, they will be of little help.

Many Germans advocate patience. This will, I think, be the watchword of the Kiesinger-Brandt coalition. But suppose that by 1969, the date of the next general election, unity is as far away as ever?

Then, I venture to predict, the present insignificant nationalism will swell to significant proportions and the next government may offer itself to the Soviet Union as a substitute for France. This would mark the grave of NATO and of the hope of an Atlantic Community.

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